CHAPTER - 3

INDIANIZATION OF ENGLISH:
EMPIRICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1  ENGLISH IN INDIAN CULTURE AND LINGUISTIC SETTING

English has entered into India as a foreign language; but by the passage of time, it is used as a second language. Sometimes, it supersedes due to conflict regarding languages among Indians. Even then, due to impact of mother tongue, where so ever it is used in India, it cultivates itself in the specific Indian way. That is not only reflected in written communication but also in oral discourse. English used in India also depicts Indian culture, religion, tradition and philosophy as well.

Language is used in a number of ways in a real situation, and there are a number of terms to describe the way it is used in. Among them ‘pragmatic norms’, ‘rhetorical structure’, ‘text structures’, ‘script’, ‘discourse’, ‘cultural convention’ etc. are some of the most important terms. Language also attains the most crucial impact of the culture of the country where it is used. In India, though, English is used as a second language yet playing major role in almost every phase of living. There are a number of Indian cultural conventions that cannot be explained appropriately by any of the equivalent English word. English is used in Indian culture in an Indian way. English that bears or exhibits Indian culture conveys meaning only to those who have some understanding about the culture; otherwise either it has superficial meaning or it may create confusion to the audience. Thus, as a result, English has somewhat absorbed the culture of India and has got a good impact on its linguistic setting. “Cultural conventions are cultural routines.”1It includes the way people behave, greet and address each other. It may also expose the dressing style, eating habits, and living style of the natives. An examination of English in Indian cultural conventions at various levels of Indian living is presented below:

3.1.1 Greetings: The way people great each other in British, American and Indian English, respectively differ in the following remarkable ways:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Varieties of English</th>
<th>Questions</th>
<th>Answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“British English”</td>
<td>How are you?</td>
<td>Fine, thanks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American English</td>
<td>How are you doing?</td>
<td>(Just) great (thanks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian English</td>
<td>How are you going?</td>
<td>Good, thanks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indian English</strong></td>
<td>How do you do?</td>
<td>I am fine, thank you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How are you?</td>
<td>Fine, thank you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What’s up? (Modern style)</td>
<td>Great</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>How is the life going? etc.</td>
<td>Ok! Good! Great!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Examples of greetings in Indian English are collected from day-to-day conversations)

The way Indians greet one another in English (Indian) seems most refined, clear and complete. Use of ‘going’ in Australian English may confuse native and other non-native English speakers, whereas in Indian English ‘going’ is also used in relation to one’s life; that also means that ‘how are you?’ The word ‘doing’ in American English may also confuse others for one’s performance in work or profession. Similarly, the reply ‘great’ may also not reveal the exact meaning because it may also a reply to one’s profession.

3.1.2 Forms of Address: It is not considered impolite for most of the Australian students to address their lecturers or a senior academician by their first name. Not only the students but the lecturers also “indicated that this is Ok.” Instead, the title or the family name is used, to address a senior academician or a lecturer (Assistant Professor in American English, previously the word ‘Lecturer’ of British English is used.), in American Academic culture.

In England or in America, teachers or professors are addressed in various ways. Generally, the address is made only by designation; e.g. “Can’t help you, today, Prof.” he said.” (The Banks of the Vistula, 57)

Sometimes, the designation is followed by name or surname of the teacher; e.g.

“dear Prof. Poulbsy, my Spanish is sickly and perhaps….”(Like Whiskey for Christmas, 103)

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2 Ibid. P. 24
and sometimes, just by name, along with title; as ‘Mr. Griffin’; and sometimes only
the name or surname without any title; e.g.

“Two of them for Griffin’s class. I’ll bet.” (Killing Mr. Griffin, eBook).

In India, the academic culture is far different in a particular way, from that of British,
America and several other countries where English is used. In India, students (if
prefer English or English mix regional language) address their teachers,
lecturers/professors or senior academicians as ‘Sir’ or ‘Madam/Ma’am’; when
interacting face to face; e.g.

“No sir, I’m just…” (Five Point Someone, eBook)

While addressing to a third person, British/ American/ Australian, any pattern is used.
But because of polite and honorific tendency and cultural ‘guru-shishya parampara’,
Indian students add the words of respect, honorific words ‘sir / madam’ after the first
name or surname; e.g. ‘Goswami Sir’ or ‘Usha Madam’ etc. Deviation from the
academic culture may bring the feeling of discomfort for the speaker of that particular
country. This sense of discomfort is termed as “pragmatic dissonance”¹ (a practical
cultural discomfort due to loss of harmony in cross cultural interference).

3.1.3 Professional/Official Discourse: Indian culture has been advocating piousness
and greatness of the teacher-pupil relationship (teacher-taught relationship) since the
very beginning of the culture. According to the mystic poet and saint Kabirdas, a
teacher must be honored before the God; as he says:

‘guru govind dou khade, kake laagu pai;

balihaari guru aapne govind diyo bataye.’

Moreover, a teacher-taught relationship is considered equivalent to father-
son/daughter relationship. (Though, the growing corruption, pollution and influence
of Western culture, all together, have been shaking such Indian beliefs and faith). The
glimpses of such Indian cultural aspect are visible in the writings and speeches of

¹ Li, 2002a : 559ff. Quoted in Kirkpatrick, Andy. 2007. World Englishes: Implications for
International Communication and English Language Teaching. P. 25.
Indian English. Sometimes, Indian teachers use close terms/names of blood relation to address their students as ‘betal bête son etc.’ e.g. “Watch it son. In my class just watch it,” was all Prof. Dubey said as he moved to the front.” (Five Point Someone, eBook)

Another cultural convention in the language is the style or manner in which the things are proposed. ‘In British English, however it would be more usual to start with the request in their context and then give reasons if required…”¹ e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard English (to the point)</th>
<th>Indian English (more polite and extended)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Could I take a day off please?</td>
<td>My wife is not well, sir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Why?</td>
<td>So?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My wife is not well…;</td>
<td>She has to go to hospital.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Well! When?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tomorrow, sir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ok.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Could I take an off on the day please?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similarly;

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British English</th>
<th>American English</th>
<th>Indian English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Yea/Yeah</td>
<td>Yes (to elder), Yea/yeah (to equals)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These examples reveal the Indian cultural conventions that most of the Indian speakers give all the possible reasons at first then they make a request; whereas according to British culture, requests are more direct, to the point, and reasons are mentioned if necessary at a later stage. Similarly, while giving an affirmative expression Indian English includes both i.e. British as well as American patterns but generally specifies it according to age group or designation.

This reflects that “a speaker’s cultural background will influence their variety of English as much as their linguistic background. Varieties of English reflect the cultural conventions and norms of their speaker;”² and these are clearly reflected in their discourse. A writer and a feminist in the 1960’s, Rita Mae Brown also states,

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¹ Kirkpatrick, Andy. 2007. World Englishes: Implications for International Communication and English Language Teaching. P.25
² Ibid
“Language is the road map of the culture. It tells you where its people come from and where they are going.”

Other than this, these cultural conversations also misguide or delude the audience of another culture that may lead to improper judgment. This all happens due to the ways of mentioning the detail that are unknown or unfamiliar to the persons of another culture. These dissimilar conventions may also create confusion between the speaker and listener and may also paint a wrong picture of both the personalities.

3.1.4 Wedding Invitations, Matrimonial Advertisements and Obituaries

3.1.4.1 Wedding Invitation: These invitations come forth with one more cultural aspect. According to Indian culture, in wedding ceremonies two individuals (bride and groom) are not the only units of interaction; but the two families. Such expressions in English writings are often found clumsy by most of the native speakers. Specimen of a typically printed wedding invitation from North India is presented below:

| Smt. _________ & Sh. ___________ request ‘the honour of your benign presence’/ ‘the pleasure of your company’ on the auspicious occasion of the marriage / reception ceremony of their grandson / daughter with _______ on day, date at ______. |  |
| RSVP | Best compliments |
| ABCs’ | XYZs’ |

It is also a courteous cultural tendency to mention the names of living grandfather & grandmother. Names of great grandfathers & grandmothers are also mentioned very often in cards of Indian people even when printed in English language. This approach also glimpses the Indian language pattern and style that shows gratitude to their forefathers & mothers, and also seeks blessings from them whether they are living or passed away. Other than this, it also reflects the philosophical tendency of Indian people that is also reflected via their invitations printed in English language that the soul is eternal, or one’s name never dies. This characteristic presents information

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1 Brown, R.M. (http://womenshistory.about.com/od/quotes/a/rita_mae_brown.htm)
about their clan along with their feelings of attachment, love and honour towards their living as well as non-living relations. Persuasions made by kids are mentioned at the bottom line of invitation agenda, is also one of the most unique feature of Indian invitations. In almost every invitation (printed in English), such insistence is written as a Hindi slogan, *sher, shairi* or *kavita* (lyrical forms). Some commonly used are:

- ‘*Mere Chacha ki shadi me jaroor –jaroor aana.*’—name / names
- ‘*Namumkin hoga in palon ko bhool pana, inhe khoobsurat banane ke liye jaroor aana.*’ -- name / names (charming star/s)

Lexicon of such invitations is also unique in itself as no English equivalent may bring that natural touch as the popular Hindi terms or Hybridized (English + Hindi) compound terms bring. Some of them are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>a.</th>
<th>Matri-pujan</th>
<th>Some of these words can be translated yet similar meaning or sense can’t be given. Some have no English equivalent; e.g. Matri-pujan, Janvasa etc.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Mandap</td>
<td>Some have their exact translation yet don’t bring that emotional or local meaning and sense; for e.g. ‘Vidai’ has its English equivalent as Departure; but the word departure doesn’t contain that emotional touch as ‘Vidai’. The Hindi compound ‘Mahila sangeet’ has also been frequently used as a hybridized compound ‘Ladies' sangeet’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>Janvasa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Jyoti Prachand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Mata ki Chowki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Jagran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>Kalewa / Aarti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>Vidai / Beegi Pulkey etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>Ladies sangeet/ Mahila sangeet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Image and name of Lord Ganesh and one’s deity ‘*Isth dev or devi*’ along with related Sanskrit ‘*shloka*’ is also one of the major characteristic of a Hindu Invitation. With the change of religion these images may vary with another image / Number or diagram with related description of that particular religion.

**3.1.4.2 Mentioning of Complexion:** Describing of complexion using adjectives like– ‘fair’, ‘very fair’ etc. is preferred in Indian culture. This also shows the general liking of the most of the Indians for fair complexion.
Indian English also reflects the tendency for a middle approach, especially in any negative situation. Hence, an Indian translated term ‘wheatish’ (gehuan) is also used very freely to mention about a complexion that is neither fair nor too dark.

3.1.4.3 Mutual alliance: This is also a cultural collocation that refers to such an arrangement by which X’s daughter marries Y’s son and Y’s daughter marries X’s son (commonly possible in Islamic religion but also found in some of the Indian religions). This kind of alliance also restrict giving and taking of dowry; e.g.

“Bangalore: S.M parents seek alliance for daughter 22 years, M.Sc (Biotech), 5’6”, slim, fair, from Engineers / Professionals / Businessmen. Have two sons (Software Engineers) mutual alliance for one son also welcome. Contact: xxxxxxxxxx, Email: abc@yahoo.com”

3.1.4.4 Matrimonial Alliance: This term, sometimes, is also used in Indian matrimonial circumstances. This presents a disguised way of demanding /presenting dowry for some well placed eligible boy or girl; e.g. “Before the crucial interview scheduled for April 1, his father Ganesh K.S., a resident of Sampangiramanagar in the city was approached by a tout, who proposed a matrimonial alliance for his son.” (The Hindu.10 June, 2013)

3.1.4.5 Mona Punjabi / Clean shaven (in case of Punjabi boy, ‘Sardar’)– Those Punjabi boys/men who do not have long hair, mustache and beard etc. like a Sardar guy, are known and mentioned as Mona Punjabi. The phrasal term clean-shaven may also be used that is a serious religious connotation that indicates of non-conformism with traditional Sikhism in India; e.g.

“He is 29 years old, from Rewa.
Education: B.Sc (Science).
Profession: Business Owner / Entrepreneur in Others.
He is a Punjabi Sikh, Clean Shaven.”

1 http://www.islamicvoice.com/August2006/Matrimonial/
2 http://www.bandhan.com/male/sikh+clean+shaven/
Even some matrimonial websites have developed separate webpage for such matrimonial advertisement; e.g.

http://www.shaadi.com/matrimony/sikh-clean-shaven-matrimony,

http://www.bandhan.com/male/sikh+clean+shaven/ etc.

3.1.4.6 Others: A number of other local words or terms are used very frequently in transliterated form in various news papers because there are no equivalent terms in English language for such expressions; e.g. ‘Gotra’, ‘Manglik, ‘A. Manglik (Anshik)’, ‘Madhya’, ‘Aadi’, ‘Antya’, ‘Amrit dhari’, ‘Khatri’ etc. Hybridized formations like ‘Non-Manglik’ ‘Semi- Mangalik’ etc. are also being frequently taken in use.

Mentioning of Vegetarian / Non-vegetarian, Pure vegetarian, I’less (Issue less), Early marriage; specific caste like Brahmin, Rajput, Yadav etc.; and sub-castes like Kanyakubj Brahmin, Gaur Brahmin, SC, ST etc. also reflect linguistic setting of English in Indian culture. Following examples are randomly extracted from Hindustan Times (HT) Matrimonial, Lucknow, 23/12/12. P. 9 for further discussion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example -1</th>
<th>Example-2</th>
<th>Example-3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Match for Issue less male, Divorcee, Veg., non-smoker, non-drinker.</td>
<td>SM for PB Khatri div. Handsome boy brief marriage 35/5’8/30LAP present assignment in UK visiting 10 Jan 13 Em: <a href="mailto:akkapor194@yahoo.com">akkapor194@yahoo.com</a> Ph.</td>
<td>PQM 4 Kh Sikh trim beard Jan’ 84/ 5’11 B. Tech. working HR Prof. MNC Ggn. 8.5 L seeks b’ful, slim, working girl from edu. Family.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Explanation:** In *example-1* the term ‘issueless’ means having no children. In Indian culture children are considered as responsibilities/ lack of freedom/ moral and social obligation; hence are considered as a drawback for second or further marriages.

In *example-2*, the compound word ‘brief marriage’ indicates for a quick marriage. As in Indian culture, a good number of rituals and ceremonies are organized that last for several days. Therefore, ‘brief marriage’ is mentioned so that marriage ceremony can be organized very quickly. Other than this, the term ‘brief marriage’ also attracts several impatient Indian parents who have become exhausted in finding a perfect match for their daughter.
In example-3, the term ‘trim beard’ highlights the fashionable image of ‘khatri sikh’.

Similarly, many other terms like ‘only son’, ‘single daughter’, etc. are also modern Indian cultural terms that reflect western influence. Other than this, functional abbreviations (‘SM’ for ‘suitable match’, ‘PB’ for ‘Punjabi’, ‘PM’ for ‘perfect match’ etc.), and short forms (‘veg.’ for ‘vegetarian’, ‘div.’ for ‘divorcee’ etc.) are also formed. Such a free style use of English language for Indian social purposes also highlights the economical Indian approach while publishing advertisement in matrimonial column.

3.1.4.7 Obituaries; Dealing with Death: Indians have their own unique way of dealing with death as they deal with marriage. “The announcement about death, the metaphor of death, and the outward manifestations at funerals are very cultural and religion specific.”

Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Explanations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Last rites to be held…” (TOI, 16 Oct, 8)</td>
<td>The terms ‘last rites’ (Antim Sanskar) and ‘last journey’ (Antim yatra) are translated terms used for the procession in which the dead body is carried to the cremation ground to be burnt. This also indicates the belief on soul and the life after death. It is believed that the soul makes its last journey and will finally merge with the supreme God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Last journey” (Ibid)</td>
<td>“Last darshan” is a hybridized compound. In this compound the Hindi word darshan is taken as it is because ‘darshan’ means much more than seeing, viewing, visualizing etc. It is the most purified and dignified form, and has no particular word in English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Bollywood stars arrive for Yash Chopra’s last darshan”</td>
<td>The above quoted SMS also highlights the same Indian belief that every soul is the part of the Supreme Power and after death (if it gets moksh) it merges with the Supreme Power. In Indian culture it is believed that if the soul is a pious one, it merges with God. It becomes free from the cycle of Birth → Death → Rebirth → Death and so on. It is believed that the soul gets the form of any living being (among the 64 thousand yonis), according to its own deeds, to complete a whole life cycle. The metaphorical word ‘lotus’ for feet eulogizes the Supreme Divine Power. This heightens the Indianness and represents the role of Indian culture in the linguistic setting of Indian English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“…..merged at the Divine Lotus Feet yesterday.” (Extracted from an SMS, informing about the death of someone’s mother)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2 http://ibnlive.in.com/photogallery/7687.html
A categorized list of other cultural words/phrases, related to death, is as follows:

**Indianized**

a) ‘the sad demise’ – Indians always use adjective ‘sad’ along with demise whereas the word ‘demise’ already denotes sadness related to death of anyone.

**Translated**

a) ‘For heavenly abode’ – An English equivalent used for ‘Swargwasi’

b) Prayer meeting (Prarthana [Shok] Sabha) – A meeting for condolence.

c) ‘…leaving us heart-broken yet blessed to have had her/him in our lives’;

d) ‘…we might pray to the Almighty to bless his/her soul’;

e) ‘You will always be in our heart’;

f) ‘In loving memory of’;

g) ‘We miss you so very much’;

h) ‘We cherish your love, care and feel your presence always’;

i) ‘May your noble soul rest in peace’ (equivalent to ‘Bagwan aapki aatma ko shanti de’);

j) ‘You are remembered today and everyday’;

k) ‘Your spirit guides us in our day-to-day actions’;

l) ‘Fondly remembered’;

m) ‘With profound grief and sorrow’;

**Hybridized:**

a) ‘last darshan’

**Transliterated:**

“Kirtan and ardas” (TOI, 26th Sep., 2012, 6.) for the peace of departed soul – equivalent to ‘divangat aatma ki shanti hetu…

a) ‘Uthala / Uthavani’; ‘Chautha’ etc.

These examples depict metaphor of Hindi or Punjabi languages. It forms an emotional and cultural bond with the Indian readers.
3.1.5 Letters, Applications and Acknowledgements

3.1.5.1 Letters: Letters of every type are also one of the best sources to study cultural and linguistic aspects in personal interactions. In Indian English, a very different lexical is used to express excessive politeness. (Influence of the tendencies of mother tongue / first language), excessive use of blessings in the opening and closing part is a common characteristic of Indian English. A senior or elder person becomes more acute in this tendency that becomes excessive to the person who doesn’t belong to the same culture. Mentioning the names of gods (who is expected to bless the receiver) is also another characteristic of letters written by Indian English writers. Goffin (1934) remarks “that Indian English has a moralistic tone and the Indian cannot keep God out of their English.”

At the time of Mahatma Gandhi, English was taught directly by English men or it had their direct impact. This was the reason why most of the educated Indians had the same perfection as that of any English men. The same perfection can easily be seen in the writings of M. K. Gandhi yet being an Indian he too could not refrain himself from Indianizing English. The following points reveal the Indian faith in God; e.g.

Faith in God: Faith in God is a very eminent thing reflected in almost every letter written in Indian English. This may appear either at the opening salutation or before the complementary close or anywhere within the main content/body of the letter; e.g.

- “God exists, and yet does not …. yet alive.” (The Collected Works of M. K. Gandhi – Vol XII P.126, 2-7-1913)
- “God’s ways are inscrutable… not the atman.” (Ibid, Vol. XIV P-502, 24-7-1918) etc.

Religion and Scripture: Mentioning the names or content of religious scriptures is also often observed in the letter forms of Indian English; e.g.

- “Throughout the ‘Bhagwatgita’ ….correspondence” (C.W. of M. Gandhi – Vol X P.248, 10-5-1910)
- “Reciting ‘Gayatri’…. according to rules.” (Ibid. Vol XVII P.526, 13-12-1920)
- “Pinda is our own body….. “Purn Avatara’ (the perfect incarnation) (The Diary of Mahadev Desai Vol I P.P. 93-94, 28-4-1932)

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Sanskrit words are being used as it is along with English equivalents; e.g. “Darkness-age” (The Authority of Hindu Epics, 56), “God-realization Chitta: enlivened mind” (Evolution of Faith and Religion: An Exploration, 404) etc. These are used in such manner because either the available English equivalents are unable to denote exact meaning or they require further explanation to clarify the meaning.

3.1.5.2 Applications: It has been observed that Indian English writers mention the reason or unnecessary details before making any request in their applications. This tendency also separates an Indian writing from a British or American writing. Over politeness and courteousness is also one of the major tendencies of Indian English. Indian writers often use words like ‘Respected’, ‘respectfully’, ‘kindly’, ‘humbly’, ‘please’; that denote politeness in their writing. Though, sometimes, due to difference in connotation, the implied words don’t convey the cultural meaning; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| i) **Indian English:**
    “Since I have to go to my village to sell my land along with my wife, please sanction one week leave.” (An application for leave: Infosys, Bangalore)
    
    **Standard English:**
    I have to go to my village along with my wife to sell my land…'

| i) **Indian English:**
    “… as I want to shave my son’s head, please leave me for two days.’(Application: Oracle, Bangalore)
    
    **Standard English:**
    As I want to organize ‘the Mundan ceremony’ of my son. Hence, please grant me leave for two days. |

Example 1 depicts error of syntax. This is also not accepted in Indian English. It may be comprehended in a funny manner by native as well as an Indian speaker.

Example 2- Casual verbs (pilawaya etc.) are formed in Hindi from almost every main verb whereas English language takes a few verbs (‘get’, ‘make’ etc.) as causal verbs along with another main verb.

Other than this, Hindi word ‘mundan’ is a cultural specific term that refers to one among the sixteen ‘sanskaras’ of Hindus. English word ‘shave’ indicates very limited meaning that may also generate ‘pragmatic dissonance’ among Indians.

3.1.5.3 Acknowledgements: An Indian English writer presents acknowledgement in his published book / work in a far different manner than that of a native writer. This writing also presents cultural attitude of an Indian English writer towards his teacher, mentor, senior or any such person who had helped in some specific manner.
The following terms / words can be easily seen in acknowledgements written by Indian English writers –

1. My great Guru

2. My work is dedicated to his / her revered memory.

3. The author takes this opportunity to express his indebtedness to…. for his stately kindness, expansive sympathy and charitable guidance, in absence of which the work couldn’t have taken its present shape.

4. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to our beloved /respected …. who corrected me at my mistakes, encouraged me when I was nervous…

It is also a very common practice among Indian writers that they thank all their close relatives and friends in their acknowledgment for even their indirect support. Indian writers also have tendency to dedicate their work to some God, Guru or special person whom they worship. Though sometimes it is not included with in the title ‘Acknowledgement’ yet it may appear at frontispiece (generally refers to some decorative or informative illustration facing the title page of a book or a published report. It is at the verso opposite the recto title page) or at the next page of Acknowledgement. In such indirect acknowledgement to God, guru or some other person, metaphors are used similar to the Hindi usage; e.g.

i. Dedicated in the revered memory of

ii. Dedicated in the lotus feet of my revered………………..

iii. Dedicated in the lotus feet of Lord………………

iv. The work came into its present form by the grace of ……………

In such declaration made under heading ‘dedication’ the Hindi term ‘Guru’ is used as it is. This is so because no English word can be used synonymously to communicate the real Indian meaning.

3.1.6 Literature and Other Writings in English: “A language in contact is two-faced, it has its own fact and the face it acquires from the language with which it has
The usage of non-native language in native contexts and descriptions to sketch novel situations, theme and characters is very similar to redefining the semiotic (the study of sign and symbols, and of their meaning and use) and semantic (connected with the meaning of words and sentences) potential of a language. Many a times, some very Indian words, expressions, emotions or thoughts etc. are mentioned in English that are not related to any of the traditional meaning of English language. In such a situation, it exhibits an extra and a different dimension of meaning which several times becomes obscure or mysterious to the native readers.

In Indian English Literature / Writing, in English all characters, major as well as minor, educated as well as uneducated use English. It is because India has a multi-coded society and English is only one code in that. In such writings, writer uses English in all the situations for all interactions which are not true to actual functions and circumstances.

Other than this, all characters have their own style range appropriate to their function. Most of the Indian writers like; Mulk Raj Anand, R. K. Narayanan, Khushwant Singh, Arvind Adig, Shasi Desh Pandey, Arundhati Roy, Shobha De etc. made difficult choices in their novels. For example; No Indian uneducated driver can speak and write English in such a fluent manner that Adig has depicted in his ‘The White Tiger’. Similarly, “no real life Indian coolie speaks English, and no untouchable uses English for interaction among friends and within the family,” as they have been portrayed in ‘Coolie’ and ‘Untouchable’ by Mulk Raj Anand. Similar situation is also being presented in ‘The Guide’ by R. K. Narayan; who made all the characters, including the guide, local uneducated villagers, the local dancer etc. interact in English in all situations.

All these writers often translate Indian terms instead of maintaining the local colour of India by finding or creating their pure English equivalents. Indian English writers also add distinct Indian flavour to their writings. These writers are conscious of making their local protagonists and other regional characters speak better English than most uneducated local English characters like; peasant, villagers etc.

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2 Ibid, 17.
So, by this way it is quite evident that English has taken a new form and shape in Indian culture and its linguistic setting is also equally peculiar to the natives’ English. Other than that English used by the native users is unable to satisfy Indian requirement, flavour and style. This is one of the prominent reasons why Indian English is flourishing as a new and unique variety of English.

3.2 VARIETIES OF ENGLISH IN INDIA

The English Language belongs to the Germanic sub group of the Indo-European Language family. It would not be hyperbole to say that English is one among the three largest spoken languages of the world. It is the only language of the world which has spread and flourished throughout the world. The relevant proof of this can be easily traced in the history. As British was the only power that had ruled over most of the countries for several years; thus it was the only reason for the development and worldwide growth of English language.

As per the result of its development, a number of varieties are also being flourished. Varieties of language mean two or more forms of language as developed in different cultural setting. These varieties are the outcome of the impact of the native languages, culture, tradition and behaviour etc. A few varieties of English are – American English, Canadian English, Irish English, Black English, African English, Sri-Lankan English, Chinese English & Indian English etc. Out of these varieties, there are several sub-varieties also. They are: Chi-Chi English, Broken English, Kitchen English, Boxwala English, Bearer English, Pidgin English, Butler English, Babu English, Burger English etc. About two centuries ago, Pidgin English existed in India. It was initiated in the country with the first contact of Indians and Britishers during the earlier phase of activities of the East India Company, especially in the eastern part of India. Now, it does not exist nor have any relevance with literature.

All these varieties are similar on many grounds, as they all are originated from the Standard British English, yet they have a number of differences on various levels; i.e. phonology, morphology, lexicon, semantic & syntactic etc.
3.2.1 The Condition of English Language in India: The condition of English Language is quite unique and different in India. The democracy, India, is the one and only largest nation in the whole world that has a number of languages along with many a dialect of each language. There are 22 languages enshrined in the constitution of India and there are 1652 mother tongues (1961 census) which are frequently used throughout the states of the largest democracy. The process of the Indianization of English language got a fresh boost after the departure of the native speakers from the Indian scene in 1947. English, it may be asserted, enjoys a special privilege in India. No other language in this country has been asked to do so many things in so many situations and at places so remote from one another both geographically and culturally. It is true that English tends to admit of greater variety and move in more diverse situations in a non-native multi-lingual setting than in its native surroundings. The number of second language speakers of English has constantly been on the increase and this has also contributed to its rich variation.

As it is a well established fact that one cannot keep himself away from the impact of the mother tongue or the first language. It is always apparently visible in the use of second or the foreign language. As we are thoroughly acquainted with the Indian atmosphere in regards of language; it is obvious that India shares and enjoys the comfort of a number of languages as mother tongue or as first language and English as a second language or third language. It would not be fake to mention that in India, English has lost its value and place of a foreign language; as it is finely blended with most of the Indian languages and is used as a second language or the third language frequently. In some of the states, it is enjoying the status of the first language also. As Raja Rao says (1978a:420), “…as long as we are Indians – that is not nationalist, but truly Indians of Indian psyche- we shall have the English language with us and amongst us, and not as guest or friend, but as one of our own, our caste, our creed, our sect and of our tradition.”

3.2.2 Major Functions of English in India: As the result of the frequent use of English in a multi-lingual country, a number of varieties have also been sprouted and flourished in the country. English has now acquired four major functions:

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Chapter 3: Indianization of English: Empirical Framework

a) **Instrumental:** The Instrumental function refers to the use of English as the medium of learning and instruction at various levels of education.

b) **Regulative:** As the language of legal as well as administration system English performs the Regulative function.

c) **Interpersonal:** Indian English also provides a code of communication to linguistically and culturally diverse groups for Interpersonal communication. English has limited use in Indian circumstances in interpersonal communication though English has aided regional and national mobility for a certain stratum of society.

d) **Innovative or creative:** The Innovative function refers to the use of English that has also been resulted in the development of a significant body of Indian English writing in various genres. Therefore, said functions of English have also resulted as the development of various varieties of English.

India has been counted among the non-native users of English, and the English used here is considered among the varieties of the South-Asian Englishes. As the result of the various functions and usage in various domains in multi-lingual country, many a varieties of English are also formed automatically as well as naturally. These all varieties are the outcome or the result of the surroundings and need for the communication among the people. When for long period of time, a language is used in a place away from its native country it develops itself according to the environment of the new place. Sociolinguists refer to this phenomenon as “Contextulization”\(^1\).

3.2.3 **Sub-Varieties of Indian English:** In this part of the research work only the Indian sub-varieties of English are highlighted. The Existing and Non-existing sub-varieties of Indian English are:

3.2.3.1 **Tamil English/ Butler English:** The English used in Chennai (earlier known as Madras) has been mentioned as Butler English. The best example of Butler English is: ‘…the broken English spoken by native servants in the Madras Presidency which is

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not very much better than the Pigeon English of China."¹ It is a singular dialect; the present participle i.e. ‘-ing form’ of verb (used very frequently) is used for future indicatives; and the prefect indicative is reflected by ‘done’ e.g. ‘You going = ‘You will go’; ‘You done go’= ‘you have ‘gone’ etc. ‘Butler English has lexicon of highly restricted nature. Impact of Dravidian languages (especially Tamil) is highly visible in the pronunciation patterns of Butler English. Hence, sound /e/ is pronounced as /je/ and sound /o/ as /wo/, /n/ as /jn/, /m/ as /jm/ etc.

3.2.3.2 Bengali English/ Babu English: The name is given to the sub-variety of English used in Bengal and its nearby regions. The main characteristic of Babu English is its extremely stylistic ornamentation and “… in Bengal and elsewhere, among Anglo- Indians, it is often used with a slight savour of disparagement, as characterizing a superficially cultivated but too often effeminate Bengali.”² One can provide illustration of this sub-variety from official and administrative registers; e.g. “If the aimed point be embraced favourably by the public, all in all grateful acknowledgements will ride on jumping border from the very bottom of my heart.”³

The pronunciation pattern of Babu English is highly influenced by Bangali language and other regional local dialects. In the manner of articulation lips are generally rounded whereas the tone is polite.

3.2.3.3 Punjabi English: The touch of Punjabi language can be very well noticed in the works of renowned writers like: Mulk raj Anand, Khushwant Singh etc. “In case of Mulk raj Anand it is apparent that his Punjabi English is the result of this deliberate strategy to safeguard his truth, his examinations of class and caste.”⁴ The impact of Punjabi English can also be easily traced in Rupa Bajwa’s famous novel ‘The Sari Shop’, Khushwant Singh’s ‘Train to Pakistan’ and in several other novels. The touch of Punjabi language can also be easily traced in the following translated or hybrid phrases: “Kings of Pearls” (Train to Pakistan, 79) means ‘motiyan da badshah’ and ‘the bridal ivory chooda’ (The Sari Shop, 87) means ‘ivory bangles to be worn by a

bride, especially, for first few months of her marriage’. This is nominal belonging to unit group in the native language. Touch of Punjabi language is often seen in the pronunciation of Punjabi English. A common variation may be seen in the pronunciation pattern of an ordinary Punjabi English speaker. In Punjabi English sound /s/ is produced as /sə/. Words like ‘school’ or ‘stool’ etc. are pronounced as /səkuːl/, /sətɪk/ respectively instead of /skuːl/ and /stɪk/ of RP.

3.2.3.4 Gujrati/ Parsi English: Gujrati/Parsi English is one more variety of Indian English. There are several Gujaraties / Parsies who “have made successful careers through their writing. Some of them have won prestigious national and international awards. Though not born into English language (as Gujarati with a distinct dialect is their mother tongue), they have mastered and made the English language to express their true spirit and distinct minority experience.”¹ A number of features of Gujarati language and culture can be easily traced in the novels of Rohinton Mistry’s ‘A Fine Balance’, Firdaus Kang’s ‘Trying to Grow’ Farrukh Dhondy’s ‘Bombay Duck’, Bapsi Sidhwa’s ‘The Crow Eaters’, ‘The Pakistani Bride’, ‘Ice Candy Man’ and ‘An American Brat’; and Chetan Bahgat’s ‘3 Mistakes of My Life’, ‘Five Point Someone’, ‘One Night @ the Call Centre’ and ‘Two States’. Influence of mother tongue may also be found in the spoken form of Gujrati English.

3.2.3.5 Mumbaiya / Boxwala English: This name was given to the sub-variety of English which was mostly used in Mumbai by wandering peddlers, who used to carry a box containing their goods to houses of foreigners and affluent Indians, or to hotels frequently visited by such people. This sub-variety is close to the sub-variety of Ghanaian English which is known as Broken English and has several characteristics of child language. Examples:

‘I come go’ for (I am going away but I’ll be back.)

‘One man no chop’; for (Eating is not a privilege for any one person) etc.

All the above mentioned sub-varieties of the variety of English (Indian English) are not the only result of function of English in the contemporary society and impact of mother tongue but it was also the outcome or the result of the notion- “it is agreed that

the aim is not to produce the speakers of British Received Pronunciation: even if this were feasible!” 1 If anyone among the non-native speaker speaks like a native speaker of English, he is generally considered as affected or even snobbish by others. This prevailing tendency has also caused the birth of these many a sub-varieties of the variety of English.

3.2.3.6 Hindi Influenced English Or North-Indian English (English of Hindi Speaking Region): North-Indian English/ Hindi English variety is prominently visible in the writings and speaking of the persons of Hindi speaking region. This sub-variety is most frequently seen in the writers and speakers of Hindi speaking region. Though, a little reflection of Hindi, sometimes, is often visible in other sub-varieties of Indian English. One may also hear and catch drastic variations in English language when it is pronounced in Hindi region. Many examples can be seen and heard in day-to-day life. Whenever it is highly influenced by mother tongue or other regional dialects, variations are sounded louder; making sound /z/ as /dʒ/ and /s/ as /ɪs/; e.g. “It is piZZa Say it properly…There’s a T in the middle Peet Zah. Don’t correct my English Ashok. There is no T in pizza. Look at the box.” (The White Tiger, 131) Hybrid formation is also very frequently seen in the English used in the Hindi speaking area; i.e. double-roli, rail-gari, motor-gari, bhabhi-hood, coolidom, etc. These formations are in fixed collocation; hence are termed as "structural constraints"; i.e. whenever used together, the specific combination depicts some specific meaning that cannot be substituted with any other combination. Even more interesting is the way in which Hindi words are made to behave with English inflectional endings added to them; e.g. white-dhotied (The Dark Dancer: A Novel, 35).

3.2.3.7 Journalistic English: The English that reflects the local colours of the place and is used in the Standard English News Papers of Hindi region may be termed as Journalistic English. This sub-variety is mentioned separately because it provides a rapid development as well as circulation to the language. Journalistic English probes into language according to the needs of communication; e.g. “Cyclothon 2015 gets good response. (The Tribune, 18 May, 2015)

Almost every linguistic feature of a sub-variety may be traced in Journalistic English. Register-specific Hindi terms may also be seen frequently in Journalistic English. The following excerpt from standard news paper is illustrative of register restricted items:

“The Director (Panchayat) has notified that the Gaon Sabha land of around 722 bighas located in Bawana village in North-West district be handed over the MCD for landfill site.” (The Hindu, April 9th 2001)

3.2.3.8 Code-Mixed Varieties of Indian English: In the discussion of the varieties within the different forms of English used in India, the development of code-mixed varieties of Indian English must not be ignored. Code-mixing is the result of language contact and code-switching, and has to be distinguished from just lexical borrowings. Code Switching entails the ability to switch from code A to code B. Some of the scholars do not differentiate between code mixing and code switching. Some merge code mixing into code switching but Goswami has explicitly split code switching in two categories as – ‘Code Mixing and Code Shifting.’

Code Mixing refers to the transferring of the elements or units of one language into the general grammatical rubric of another at the intra sentential level; e.g. ‘Mere father kal meri fee jamā karenge.’ Or ‘Bank account open karne ke liye address proof dena hoga.’ ‘Code Shifting denotes the functional contact in which a multi-lingual person makes alternate use of two or more codes according to situation, topic or domain. As the case of Hindi English code switching Vimal Mitra may be quoted as: ‘I am afraid of nobody. Is waqat mujhe Manila ki fikr hai.’ Such a transfer results in developing a new restricted or not so restricted code of linguistic interaction. Code switching is found in most of Indian English as S. N. Sridhar has shown that: ‘...the more educated the person the more he tends to mix elements from English in his mother tongue.’ (1978:109).

In most parts of South India the word ‘vessel’ means ‘utensils’. ‘Vessel’ is not usually used in this sense, in any other part of India. Similarly, in South Indian coinage, “the husband of wife’s sister is called ‘co-brother’” (Saddhu) in Hindi and Punjabi

speaking areas. These terms are also unknown in other parts of India. The term ‘outbooks’-meaning books outside the prescribed course is very common in West Bengal but unknown in the rest of the country. Similarly, the fictional writings of Khushwant Singh and Mulk Raj Anand often create difficulty in understanding among non-Punjabi speakers on account of the pull of the regional language in them.

At other parts of country, at phonological level one perceives several kinds of Indian English, each one showing unmistakably its allegiance to a regional language whose phonetic features influence it. Thus, one can speak, among others, of Tamil English, Bengali English, Punjabi English, North-Indian English and so on. This has been well demonstrated by a reader in a letter to the editor of The Illustrated Weekly of India: e.g.

‘Eye yate yeleven yeggs.’ (I ate eleven eggs.)- (Tamil English)

‘Go suttrait in the suttereet and ju bill find the house ju bant!’ (Go straight in this street and you will find the house you want!) (Sharma, 1974:6).-(Punjabi English)

In addition to this, some of the varieties on the lexical level are also found in English—such as in Standard English the word ‘cousin’ is a common noun but in Indian English ‘cousin’ is categorized as ‘cousin sister’ for denoting feminine gender and ‘cousin brother’ for masculine gender. Similarly, in Standard English the word ‘expire’ is mostly used in the meaning of ‘to dispatch’ or ‘to send something’ but in Indian English the word ‘expire’ is very frequently used for ‘death’; e.g. His grandfather ‘expired’ yesterday.

Some Indian cultural terms which cannot be translated into English, are also used by many famous Indian writers, in their original form, i.e. mother tongue, and they gave their meaning and explanation at footnotes. The renowned Kannad novelist U.R. Anantmury has used the word ‘Samskara’ for 58 times in the novel ‘Samskara’; but when the novel was translated the term ‘samskara’ could not be replaced by any other equivalent word; for it contains various manifold meanings. Thus, the translator used the word ‘samskara’ as it is in the English translation.

Though there are some challenges that Indian English has been facing for so long, yet none can deny the fact that it has been playing a major role not only at regional and
national level, but also at International level. Indian English is now an efficient and fairly stable variety exiting in its own right, having its own frame of references and symbolizing a distinct socio-cultural reality. In spite of the models set by the BBC and Voice of America, IE (Indian English) could not but develops on lines of its own, independent of the mother tradition.

### 3.3 INDIANNESS IN INDIAN ENGLISH

How English can be distinguished in varieties like, British, American, Australian or Indian etc.? Distinction can be made as per the inherited qualities; as Englishness of Standard or Native English, Americanness of American English, and so on.

The suffix ‘-ness’ denotes specific quality/qualities of the preceding word. There are several aspects, like phonological, lexical grammatical differences etc. among varieties of English; but in this chapter, efforts are made:

a) To find out the formal features of Indian English that establishes it as a standard, rich and developed variety.

b) To find out what is the linguistic significances of the cultural and sociological factors in a bilingual use of English as a second language.

c) To find out what is the impact of the previously mentioned factors on the formal features of English.

These points of discussion will be based on the bilinguals who are efficient in their mother tongue or first language and they are well groomed in English too. They also have to interact in and with Indian social, cultural, regional and religious circumstances; and more over who continuously; make efforts to enrich Indian English with Indianness. C.P. Varghese defines Indianness as, “What I mean Indianness in Indian writing in English, is the sum total of the cultural pattern of India and the deep seated ideas and ideals political economic, secular and spiritual - that constitute the mind of India and are reflected in her writing.”\(^1\)

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3.3.1 Levels of Bilingualism: There are three types of bilinguals/ multi-linguals in India who may be scaled in the cline of bilingualism as follows:

- **The Neutral Level:** A bilingual who possesses minimal knowledge of English language; like peons, drivers, postman, attendants, maid servants etc.

- **The Medial Level:** Under this point, those bilinguals fall who have “adequate competence in one or more registers of Indian English,”¹ like all those professionals who studied English as their major subject of study and use the language effectively “in those restricted fields in which the English language is used in India;”² e.g. Science lecturers, Assistants, clerks, junior engineers etc. (except some exceptions)

- **The Standard Level:** Those bilinguals who are intelligible to other Indians in other subcontinent as well as to the educated native speakers also he may not be equal to the native speaker in terms of command of English.

Lack of command over a wide registers range in English is one of the reasons of register confusion among Indian bilinguals. Due to this, deviation of collocation occurs. Indian bilinguals frequently use a register bound item/term in another register of English, which is, generally, not used in the Standard English.

3.3.2 Indianness in Indian English Used especially by Educated Indians: “There is no reason why Indian English should replicate British English.”³ “Even native speaker in United Kingdom speak with varying diction.”⁴

The factors that justify the deviations in Australian English, Canadian English etc., also mark Indian English as a separate variety. The only difference is that Indian English is mostly used as second language in India where as all other varieties are used as mother tongue or the first language. Because of the linguistic and cultural setting of India, there are formal and contextual exponents of Indianness in Indian writing and this may be candidly visible in idioms of Indian sense in Indian setting.

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¹ Kachru, Braj.B. 1983. The Indianisation of English/The English Language in India. P.129
² Ibid.
³ How to understand and speak Indian English, Spectrum, The Tribune, Sunday, June 3, 2012.
⁴ Ibid
These writings and idioms that reflect social-cultural and linguistic factors of India were either the outcome of deviations from other sub-standard formations. This distinctive feature is visible according to the language attitude of a person.

3.3.3 **Typical Indian English Formations:** Other than phonological level, some typical Indian English formations will be included in the following type of formations:

- **Explanatory Translated Formation OR Trans-explanatory Formation:** In this type of formation non-native speakers try to translate the word but due to absence of any such equivalent in the target language, they make the translation little bit explanatory for the sake of intelligibility to the non-native and the native speakers as well; e.g.

  - Lotus position (Padmasan or Kamalasan) (The White Tiger, 195)
  - Puffed Rice (Laiyya) (The Collected Stories, 67)
  - Incense stick (Dhoopbatti) (The White Tiger, 279)
  - Dung Wash (Lepan) (A Silence of Desire, 101)

- **Collocation Formations:** These formations may immensely vary from the standardized terms for any item, expression or thought etc. but may be related to terms of the local language of the place. Usually, these formations are created according to the intelligibility of the users of English; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian Formation</th>
<th>Standard Usages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bread giver (Across the Gaping Chasm, 23)</td>
<td>-- employer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt giver (Kantapura, 32)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expired (Indian English, 88)</td>
<td>-- passed away</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>By foot/walk (Standard English And Indian Usage, 66)</td>
<td>-- on foot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good name (गुण नाम) (The Namesake, 56)</td>
<td>-- name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage (ceremony) (The Great Indian Novel, 70)</td>
<td>-- wedding (ceremony)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cousin brother or sister (Students' Britannica India, 182)</td>
<td>-- cousin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
g) Joint family (A Grain of Sand: Chokher Bali, 290) --immediate/ extended family

h) Uncle or Aunty (older persons)(The Namesake, 83) --Uncle or Aunty (only for relatives)

i) Pre-pone (Atom and the Serpent, 168) --advance

j) Loose motion (Longman Science Biology 9, 67) --diarrhea/ diarrhea

k) Stepney (It was a brand name) --spare tire

l) Flyover --Pass over (AmE)

m) Students give test --Students take text

n) Take out a procession --lead a procession

o) Give stress/Put stress --stress or lay stress

• Analogical Formations: The formations which are based on the analogy of natively used form for any item in English language may be termed as Analogical Formation. It is a very productive device for formation of words and development of language. It is often used in colloquial and journalistic style, and sometimes, also in scientific writing style. As on the analogy of ‘Marathon’- Telethon, Talkathon etc. are formed; e.g.

“A telethon – HELP! Telethon Concert – had been organised at Mumbai on February 6.” (India Times News Network, Feb. 7, 2005, 01:37 PM IST)

“Budget 2015: Jaitley’s Talkathon shines light on secret North Block bunker and budget logic” (The Times of India, INN, March 1, 2015 03:31 AM IST)

• Non-deviant Culture Bound Formations:- These formations also introduce new registers by writers of Indian English. Though these formations are translated yet they communicate deeper meanings, that are generally culture specific; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>government (Train to Pakistan 40)</td>
<td>to address ‘sir’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>home spun (India: A Million Munities Now, 3)</td>
<td>‘ghar ka buna’This communicates special touch of affection and care in Indian context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>string bed (India: A Million Munities Now, 30)</td>
<td>‘charpoy’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
thread ceremony (Ibid, 43)  
Upnayan/Janeu Sanskar.  
It is a cultural as well as religious event ‘Upnayan or Jeneu sanskar’; a Hindu religious ceremony especially for Brahmins

skull caps/ muslim caps (Ibid, 35)  
“A thread knitted cap that covers only skull and worn by muslims that’s why muslim cap. It has religious significance also.”

Proposed marriage/ Arranged marriage (Ibid, 47)  
Both are synonymous to each other These marriages are proposed and arranged by parents or relatives.

An unstitched garment (Ibid, 5)  
An unstitched garment is considered as a holy garment. As, a stitched garment passes through needle and thread (which tailor inserts into the needle-hole by using his salvia) all around. It is considered as impious and unsuitable for sacred activities.

Fee (Ibid, 77)  
Here, it is used for ‘Dakshina’ not for ‘shulk’. Fee is a demanded amount whereas ‘Dakshina’ (in true Indian sense) offered by devotees themselves as an outcome of their gratefulness and a token of regard towards ‘pandit’ or ‘pujari’ etc.

- Transliteration of Indian Words/ Phrases: “Transliteration is the substitution of the letters of one alphabet by those of another”\(^1\). There are a number of Indian words especially Hindi which are being transliterated very frequently. This form is used not only by Indians but also by several writers and speakers of Standard English. These are used when there is no equivalent word is found in English or when the available equivalent is not suitable enough to be used for the purpose. Several transliterated words are mostly used in writings. Some of them are mentioned below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Castes, Titles, Honoryfic words:</th>
<th>Edibles:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brahmin (The White Tiger, 83)</td>
<td>Briyani (Stardust, Dec, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalit (India, 1)</td>
<td>Chanachur (The Namesake, 87)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhobi (The Guide, 87)</td>
<td>Choker (Ibid, 8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halwai (The White Tiger, 56)</td>
<td>Chutnies (The Sons of Rashmani, 167)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harijan (India: 1)</td>
<td>Daal and chapattis (The White Tiger, 189)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharaja (The White Tiger, 157)</td>
<td>Dosa (The White Tiger, 191)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Pujari</strong></th>
<th>(The Apprentice, 121)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pundit</strong></td>
<td>(The Guide, 122)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seith ji</strong></td>
<td>(The Foreigner, 211)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Swami</strong></td>
<td>(The Guide, 91)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Profession**
- Dabbawala (The Economic Times, 12/14)
- Kabadi (The Namesake, 12)
- Shikari (The Guide, 81)

**Relations:**
- Dada, babu (The Namesake, 94)

**Means of Transport:**
- Tum-tum (The Apprentice, 29)

**Apparels**
- Dhoti (The Namesake, 220)
- Pajamas (Ibid, 39)
- Salwar-kameez (Stardust, Dec. 2012)
- Sari (The Namesake, 2)
- Shawl (The Babus of Nayanjore, 197)
- Dhoti, achkan, kurta salwar, chadar etc. (Implied by Anand)

**Furniture:**
- Charpoy (The White Tiger, 54)
- Piri (The Namesake, 10)

**Places, Structures, Buildings:**
- Aashrams (The White Tiger, 275)
- Ghat (Ibid, 16)
- Sabha (The Guide, 188)

**Musical instruments:**
- Tabala (The Guide, 241)
- Dholki (Ibid)

**Intoxicants**
- Beedies (The Guide, 265)
- Hasish (Ibid, 275)
- Hooka/hukka (Ibid, 56)

**Religious, cultural, philosophical, yoga gestures, postures and activities:**
- Avatar (Stardust, Dec. 2012)
- Darshan (The Guide, 240)
- Gayatri (The Apprentice, 146)
- Janeyu (Ibid, 123)
- Karma (The Guide, 216)
- Mantra (The Apprentice, 34)
- Namaste (The Foreigner, 235)
- Namastes (The White Tiger, 4)
- Namaz (Ibid, 110)
- Ooooooom (Om) (The White Tiger, 189)
- Pujo (Bengali) (The Namesake, 41)
- Ramdan (The White Tiger, 109)
- Swastik (Light of Asia, 18)
- Asana (The White Tiger, 149)
- Yoga (Ibid)

**Others:**
- Jhoota (A Gift for Muslim Women, 106)
- Talisman (The Namesake, 262)
- Vidhyar (The Guide, 226)
- Inquilab (The Apprentice, 12)

_Hindu pani, , accha punkhah, pakhand, angreeze sarkar, kanjoos, topa etc. (From novels of Anand)_

---

**Bold and Showy Expression:** Instead of simple expression bold and showy expressions are used, e.g.

i) ‘Observe’ instead of ‘see, listen, comment’

ii) ‘Freeze’ or ‘Lock’ instead of ‘reserve’, ‘save’ or ‘select’ as the final option.

*Note:* In GGSIPU, now a days, applicants who qualify entrance examination have to ‘Freeze’ themselves on the available branch and college seat instead of ‘reserve’, ‘save’ or ‘select’. Similarly, the word ‘lock’ has been very frequently used by Mr Amitabh Bacchan in KBC that gives a very bold and different expression. It also meant ‘to save as the final answer.’

**Hybridized Formations:** Under this category compound formations are considered in which one item is from Indian language and another is from Standard English and which are used together; e.g. ‘Police wala’ for ‘Policeman’, ‘The Bhoodan Movement’ for ‘Land-gift Movement’, ‘Vedic culture’ for ‘Ancient Indian Culture’, ‘Astroguru’ for ‘A teacher or a learned person of Astrology’; etc.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hybridized Formation</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Hybridized Formation</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ajowan water</td>
<td>(The Namesake, 86)</td>
<td>Hari katha man</td>
<td>(Kanthapura, 10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ash smeared sadhus</td>
<td>(The Last Labyrinth, 88)</td>
<td>Hush plush nikah</td>
<td>(Stardust, Dec.2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batik - spread</td>
<td>(The Namesake, 2)</td>
<td>Kadi –chawal specialist</td>
<td>(Ibid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bioscopewali</td>
<td>(Stardust, Dec. 12)</td>
<td>Pan red lips</td>
<td>(The Last Labyrinth, 29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black burkas</td>
<td>(The White Tiger, 40)</td>
<td>Potato vada</td>
<td>(The White Tiger, 204)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabuliwalla</td>
<td>(Cabuliwallah,8)</td>
<td>Pucca servant</td>
<td>(Ibid, 129)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaprasihood</td>
<td>(Cooie,7)</td>
<td>Puja-mark (on their forehead)</td>
<td>(India ,1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotton chaddar</td>
<td>(The Son of Rashmani,147)</td>
<td>Pulao rice</td>
<td>(Anand, in his novels)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family guru</td>
<td>(Ibid, 138)</td>
<td>Swachh Bharat Mission</td>
<td>(The Economic Times, 27/12/14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghat steps</td>
<td>(The White Tiger, 16)</td>
<td>Tandav dance</td>
<td>(Stardust, Dec.2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghee-fried</td>
<td>(Temporary Lives and Other Stories, 16)</td>
<td>Vialayti stuff</td>
<td>(The Strange Case of Billy Biswas, 114)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greasy samosa</td>
<td>(The White Tiger, 300)</td>
<td>Vilayati blood</td>
<td>(Ibid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halah butcher</td>
<td>(The Namesake,271)</td>
<td>Yoga guru</td>
<td>(The White Tiger, 231)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.3.4 Various Sources of Indianness: Indianness reflects when any sociological, cultural, mythological or linguistic element interferes in English language. The non-linguistic elements that cause Indianness to happen are as follows:

3.3.4.1 Transfer of Context:- The details of religious things and practice, caste system, social aspect, superstition etc. which are totally unknown in English language and which occur in form of may be called Indianness on the basis of transfer of context; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples of Context Transfer</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Churning of the ocean (Urvashi, 09) for (Samudra Manthan)</td>
<td>It is an Indian mythological incident having a great description. It is generally incomprehensible to non-Indians. To understand this, every foreigner requires the knowledge of the context.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forest School (Urvashi, 107) for (Gurukul)</td>
<td>In ancient times in India, young boys were sent to ‘gurukuls’ to get all sorts of education. But ‘Forest school’ is not an appropriate term for ‘Gurukul’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purdah (A Dying Banyan, 8)</td>
<td>It may be understood as a shroud or a veil or a similar thing by any foreigner. He would require to know the context if it is used as a cultural term for the expression that communicates social or religious shyness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hajj (A Dying Banyan, 14)</td>
<td>Indian Muslims’ Pilgrimage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dancing like wooden toys (Urvashi, 118)</td>
<td>In Rajasthan, India, artists make wooden toys (Kaathputlies) dance by pulling or releasing strings attached to them. It is a traditional activity termed as ‘Kathpatli Nratya’; but any foreigner needs to know the context. According to Indian religious belief, human beings are similar to such toys that dance as per God’s wish.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.4.2 Transfer of Register - In this register range of an item or term gets extended which is not used in native language usage; e.g.

i) “She had seen them often at the ‘bhelpuri stand’ next to the shops. (On Wings of Butterflies, 212)

ii) “Om Prakash broke the silence by pointing out a watermelon “sherbet stand.” (A Fine Balance, P.7)

In Standard English the word ‘stand’ is restricted to the register of flower stand, candle stand, bus stand, cycle stand etc; but ‘bhelpuri stand’ ‘sherbet stand’ are formed as per the consequence of Indianness. It occurred due to the extension of the register range of the item.
iii) “Temple Chariot” (The Guide, 10) for ‘Rath’ or ‘savari’ (the display of idols of god & goddess).

In Standard English, the word ‘chariot’ is used for an open vehicle with two wheels, pulled by horses, used in ancient times for wars and races, but in Indian English it is associated with Temples and also used for displaying of idols of gods and goddesses.

iv) ‘Chewing Paan’ for ‘Paan Khana’ (The White Tiger, 105) In Standard English ‘chewing’ is restricted to the exercise of teeth while grinding a morsel etc. In the activity of ‘pan khana’ a person does not exactly chew but lets a pan remain in his mouth by a light exercise of jaw.

v) “I’d give anything to see how you pass the night with him in the Flower-bed” Bimola, the youngest of the girls and the last to be married, broke into a giggle.” (Music for Mohini, 119)

In Standard English ‘flower bed’ is restricted to the register of gardening but Bhattacharya has extended range up to the ‘nuptial bed’ (Suhagraat ke sejh).

3.3.5 Transfer of Form Context Components: There are various functions of Human speech. Among them some are greetings, abuses, curses, blessings, buttering or flattery, modes of addresses and references etc. These speech functions are also associated with certain greater postures etc. Hence, when they are mentioned, in English, they need Indian contexts, and forms Indian English. Sometimes this also involves those units of context which already exists in Standard English. Some examples are given below:

- Religious

i) “Coconuts were broken on the railway track….” (The Guide, 50)

This is a Hindu culture to initiate any new work or thing generally by breaking a coconut as a symbolic sacrifice.

ii) “His palms pressed together in a statue to the god.” (The Guide, 223)

It is a general Indian posture while worshipping. The English term ‘folded hands’ is also used for this activity
iii) ‘Mother Ganga’ (The White Tiger, 97)

It is an Indian way to address river Ganges because the Indian people consider it as the most pious river of the world and the life-line of a major part of India. That is why, it is regarded as mother.

iv) “…blowing her prayer-charged breath’(A Dying Banyan, 6)

It is an Indian superstition. In this, some persons- like ‘fakirs’, ‘tantriks’ etc. whom general public consider holy souls, plosively exhale full breath from their mouth on something or on somebody’s face and body (one who is suffering some ailments) while murmuring some prayers (mantras) to bless and protect him from some bad omens.

v) “The unpaved floor would be sprinkled with water and ‘incense stick burnt...’”(A Dying Banyan, 12)

‘Agarbatti jalana’. While offering prayer, an incense stick is burnt in Indian (Hindu/Muslim) Culture while offering prayers.

vi) “Afternoon prayer” (A Dying Banyan, 5) for ‘Asir ki Namaz’ related to Muslim culture.

vii) “…by ringing of bell, the blowing of conches, the play of cymbals…” (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 79) These are Indian (Hindu) religious activities.

viii) “…sacred fire was taken around” (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 80)

‘Aarti ghumana’ to spread positive and holy air/heat all around’

ix) “…to go and got up the coins that had been thrown on the brass plate with burning camphor the emblem of the sacred – fire that had been taken around the people … you throw your coin on the plate, passed your fingers through the camphor flame and took your fingers to your forehead.” (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 79)

All this description communicates meaning to an Indian (Hindu) reader. For a native speaker of English, the cultural and religious meaning is unknowns. For a native reader the same description will be a simple one based on common meaning. To an Indian reader it contains specific meaning because ‘brass’ is
believed to be one among the pious metals and its utensils are often used during worshipping procedures. Similarly, ‘passed your fingers…camphor flame’ may seem a general activity to a non-Indian but for Indians (Hindus) it is mandatory for one’s well being and goodness.

x) “Servant – God” and ‘Half monkey Half man’ (The White Tiger, 19) The word ‘servant’ is used here, inaptly, for Hindi ‘Bhakt’ or ‘sewak’. Similarly, the phrase ‘half monkey half man’ is not presenting the correct description for ‘Kapi Prajati’ to which Hanuman ji belongs. At some places, the phrase ‘monkey god’ is used for him.

xi) “Car Festival” (The Week, June 17, 2012. Advertisement of Odisha Tourism) for ‘Rathyatra’ and ‘sacred journey’ for ‘Pavitra or Dharmik yatra.’ In this, thousands of devotees’ pull giant chariots of Juggernaut. Only Indians can understand the deeper meaning and will have feelings and emotions for this.

- **Social Rites**

i) “Auyu fall on the feet of Aushnary” (Urvashi, 125) This is an Indian way to show extreme respectfulness and gratitude towards one’s elder or some respectable person.

ii) “With folded hands” (Urvashi,74) ‘Namaskar karna’ To greet someone by making Indian gesture of folding and joining hands.

In Standard English wishing/welcoming/bidding is mostly **time bound**: e.g. good morning, good noon, good afternoon, good evening, good night. ‘Good bye’ is **situation bound**. Indian greetings and wishes are generally for all time and situations but they are **age bound**: e.g. ‘pranam’ (to elders), ‘namaskar/namaste’ (equals), ‘chiranjeev raho’ (to youngsters) etc. In Indian English, as a result, either the transliterated or translated (contextual) forms of Indian greetings are used.

iii) “He gave me **5001 rupees**. It is Indian custom that extra one rupee. Even if it is a million rupees, they will pay you that extra one rupee. It is good for luck.” (India: A Million Mutinies Now , 88)
While gifting cash, almost every Indian adds one extra rupee because they consider it as a good practice that brings luck and fortune.

iv) “Pictures were garlanded.” (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 10)

To offer respect to gods, goddesses and fore-fathers etc. most of the Indians hang garlands to their big and framed pictures which they mount on the walls.

- **Kinship Terms**

“Father’s sister” (A Dying Banyan, 2)

There is no specific address for this relation in Standard English. Similarly, many other relations also do not have specific words for address in Standard English; e.g. chacha, tau, mama, mausa, phupha all are addressed by a common word ‘uncle’; and mausi, mami, chahi, tai, bua are also commonly addressed as ‘aunt/auntie’. Indians do not get satisfaction by using such common terms for their close relations because they have specific kinship terms for each relation. So, they follow the same practice while using English as a medium of communication. Thus, they either use the transliterated form of the Indian word of relation or explain the relation with the help of available English words of relation.

- **Address Forms:**
  
i) “Babuji, Babuji’ (Untouchable,90).

  It is an Indian address form generally used to address some superior persons.

  ii) “Chal, chal, **mad woman**! You will have to go” (Untouchable, MR Anand)

  It is an abusive form generally used to address some unwanted person in Indian languages.

3.3.6 **Formal Equivalence and Indianness:** To study formal equivalence and Indianness, one need to understand about ‘Shift’ and ‘Translation’.

3.3.6.1 **Shift:** A shift, based on under lying Indian source item, is one of the two ways of the transfer of Indianness in Indian English. It generally means adaptation. It is far different from translation because in this the writer does not make any sincere attempt to present formal equivalence “Shifts are better explained and understood if
considered with their appropriate contextual units from Indian culture.”\textsuperscript{1} Sometimes, they are also presented through idiomatic usages. Some examples of ‘shift’ are as follows:

**Idiomatic Usage**

i) **Blessings:**
- “God bless you. May you always wear red. May gold always shine on your hands.” (Inside the Haveli, 264)

ii) **Gratefulness:**
- “…seven rebirths I won’t be able to repay my debt to you.” (The Guide, 184)
- “You have blessed my hovel with the good dust of your feet.” (So Many Hungers! 62)

iii) **Others:**
- “…demanded his daughter’s hand in marriage.” (The Great Indian Novel, 22)
- “Pinch your neck and swear” for ‘\textit{Bhagwan ki kasame khana}’ (The White Tiger, 56)
- “Prices will touch the sky” (So Many Hungers! 6)
- “The bull yoked to an oil crusher” (The Guide, 20)

In the first example, the word ‘red’ idiomatically refers to ‘sindoor’ (vermillon) that almost every Hindu woman, whose husband is alive, wears. ‘Red’, here, symbolizes as a blessing for long life of one’s husband. The second example communicates the Indian belief on birth and rebirths. It communicates the indebtedness up to seven lives (\textit{saat janmo ka riṇddi hona}). Similarly, the given formal equivalents (Shifts) for various Indian expression; “\textit{Aapne apne charan raj se mere kuttiya (ghar) ko pavitra kardiya}” etc. communicate Indianness.

**3.3.6.2 Translation:** Much has been said about translation in Indian as well as in western intelligentia. Nida has said, “Translating consists in producing in the receptor language the closest natural equivalent to the message of the source language, first in

\textsuperscript{1} Kachru, Braj B, 1983, \textit{The Indianization of English: The English Language in India} P.135
meaning second in style”.¹ Catford has defined it as “the replacement of textual material in one language by equivalent textual material in another language.”²

“Translation is that activity of linguistic symbols in which transmission of an expressed experience of one language into another language is explained. Both ‘Source language’ and ‘Target language’ are compulsory in it, but both languages have their own social, cultural, political context and environment which generally are not equal. Every language has its own immense power and generic sensitivity.”³

Goswami has rightly observed the significance and relevance of translation in day-to-day life. It is a multifaceted and a multidimensional linguistic activity that promotes cultural exchange. The relevance of translation has grown over several years; and now, it generally functions as a working bridge between various socio-cultural diversified countries. Today, through translation, information of various fields of activity and knowledge available in different languages may easily be comprehended.

There were close links of India with the ancient civilization such as Greek, Egyptian and Chinese. This interactive relationship would have been impossible in the absence of translation. The importance of translation has increased greatly in today’s fast changing world. Translation functions as a major tool for the transmission and preservation of knowledge. Translation has played an important role in spreading various religions across cultures and countries. Translation plays an important role in bringing out the universal elements in world literature; therefore, its relevance cannot be ignored. It is a means to provide exactly similar or partially similar words or items from one language to another language. There may be the following situation in translation:

3.3.6.2.1 One to One Correspondence between the Items of Languages: In this, translation for almost every item/word is provided. It communicates plain meaning that is very easily understood by native and non-native readers. Some examples of one to one correspondence are:-

---
³ अनुवाद भाषिक प्रतीकों का वह यथार्थ है जिसमें एक भाषा में व्यक्त अनुभव की दूसरी भाषा में समानार्थ हो जाने की यथार्थ होती है। इसमें दोनों भाषाओं और संबंध भाषा दोनों का होना तो अनिवार्य है, किन्तु दोनों भाषाओं के सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक, राजनीतिक आदि अपने – अपने संदर्भ और परिस्थिति होते हैं जो प्रायः एक समान नहीं होते। हर भाषा की अपनी अग्रणी शक्ति और जातीय संबंध होती हैं। गोरखामी, कृष्ण कुमार। 2008। अनुवाद विज्ञान की भूमिका। नई दिल्ली: राज कमल प्रकाशन। पृ. 23
Chapter 3: Indianization of English: Empirical Framework

Indian Expression in English Language

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expression in English Language</th>
<th>Indian Expression in Hindi Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Large eyes (The Cabuliwala, 62)</td>
<td>Badi aakhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoke lamp (The Son of Rashmani, 168)</td>
<td>dhoomit deepak or dhuye daar Deepak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star of our eyes (Ibid,100)</td>
<td>Humari aakho ka tara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer room (Ibid,122)</td>
<td>Pooja Ghar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half baked (The White Tiger, 8)</td>
<td>Aadha paka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palace doctor (India, 146)</td>
<td>Raaj vaidhya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother earth (The Home Coming, 21)</td>
<td>Dharti Maa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betel leaf box (The Castaway)</td>
<td>Paandaan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.6.2.2 Literal Translation: In this kind of translation, a word of a particular rank is being translated but due to certain reasons and limitations, (cultural, regional etc.) appropriate equivalent is not available, thus translation is done on the meaning basis. In such case, if one to one correspondence (translation) is employed, it will not be able to communicate the real sense; hence, will be idiomatic in its meaning; e.g.

**Indian Expression in English Language**

“My mother’s body had been wrapped from head to toe in a saffron silk cloth…” (The White Tiger, 16)

“Shiva’s name is truth.” (Ibid)

“Fish market” (The Guide, 243)

“He was the sole candle flame on his family tree” (He Who Rides a Tiger, 136)

“Worth his salt”

**Indian Expression in Hindi Language**

‘suhag ki liye kesariya reshmi kafan’

‘Shiv/ Ram (God) naam satya

‘machli bazar’ (This stands for some very clumsy and noisy place)

“Vansh ki eklauta chiraag”

“Namak Halal” that means one who is honest and sincere

3.3.6.2.3 Free Translation (Sense for Sense): In Rank Shift Translation equivalence is missing between Indian English and an Indian item. It does not have the change of a unit one rank into another. In this, basically, a ‘one-word’ item of Indian language is converted or changed into a group of words or phrases to communicate an equivalent meaning e.g.

Chapter 3: Indianization of English: Empirical Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Activities (Hygienic):</strong> “Rubbing his teeth from a twig broken from a neem tree” (The White Tiger, 109)</td>
<td>दानुष / दादून करना</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appearance, accessories and Dressing styles:</strong> “Sari tied in a way which enable the legs to be wrapped separately” (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 18) “matted locks” (The Guide, 138)</td>
<td>कीच साढ़ी जड़ाएं</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Articles, Structures and Furniture:</strong> Giant frying pan (The White Tiger, 204) A thin piece of wood (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 21) A wooden platform (The Guide, 18)</td>
<td>कड़क / कड़ी कड़क्या पट्टा, औषध. चौकी, तल्ल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Edibles and Eating Activities:</strong> Jaggery cooked with rice (The Guide, eBook) a piece of short bread biscuit (Morning Face, 3) Using a knife to spread spices on moist leaves that he had picked out of a bowl of water… preparation of paan. (Ibid, 250) Mouthful of pan juice (Ibid, 10)</td>
<td>खीर मटटी पान लगाना पीक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Greetings/ Gestures:</strong> “To fold her hands in gratitude” (The Guide, 20) “Put her palms together” (India, A Million Mutinies Now, 21) Bowed low and tried to touch Raju’s feet. (The Guide)</td>
<td>हाथ जोडना नमस्कार करना वचनस्वर्ण</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kinship Terms:</strong> “Uncle (Maternal)” (Never Separated in 54 Years. The Times of India, 28/12/12, 10)</td>
<td>मामा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Profession:</strong> “dancing girl” (The Guide, 153) “A paan maker sat on a wooden stall” (The White Tiger, 250)</td>
<td>नर्तकी पानबाजी, रेकी / गूडटी</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religion/Rituals/Cultural Terms:</strong> “auspicious time” (The Guide, eBook) “Raju ceremoniously placed the basket of the edibles at the feet of the image and said, “It is His first. Let the offering go to Him, first, and we will eat the remnant…” (Ibid) “Fresh puja mark on their forehead” (India; Million Mutinies Now, 1) “a song in praise of Ganesha” (Ibid, 210) “Ganpati, Ganesh, the Hindu elephant god”(The Guide, 19)</td>
<td>मुहूर्त भोग / भोग लगाना तिलक / अभिमेक गणेश स्तुति गणेश</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Musical/Technical Instrument or Facilities:</strong> “Gourd flute” (The Guide, 66) “sent off a wire to his paper” (The Guide, 233)</td>
<td>बीन तातसंके</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sound:</strong> “The jingle of ankle” (The Guide, 188)</td>
<td>छम-छम</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Curses:</strong> “She – devil” (The Guide, 171)</td>
<td>चूजेल / भूलती</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above-mentioned categorized list of items/words, taken from a wide range of Indian (cultural and traditional etc.) registers, presents a solid proof that many a times Standard English obsessively requires an explanatory description to express an item, term or activity of Indian language. Thus, Standard English has limitations in this regard. Hence, to communicate such Indian things as it is in English, one has to embrace Indianness, first in his thoughts, then in his language also.
Sometimes, while embracing Indianness, writers consciously translate Indian items. Sometimes, it happens unconsciously. In an unconscious translation, writers rarely realize that they are “using a transferred item of an Indian language”\(^1\); whereas, conscious translation is also used by authors as “a linguistic device for generating stylistic effects”.\(^2\)

### 3.3.7 Indian English Collocation:

Indianness caused because of previously mentioned transfers i.e. transfer of context and transfer of register. Context components are always deviant from Standard English because of collocation, hence they are known as Indian English collocation. These also possess some Indian characteristics, which are as follows:

i) Indian English Collocation is, sometimes, grammatically deviated from the formations of Standard English; e.g.

Silk shamiyana (Indian Essentials, 83) = shamiyana (tent) of silk cloth

ii) It may have lone shift from Indian Languages.

iii) It may only be contextually deviant while formally non–deviant. This situation occurs when some contextual units are assigned in Indian culture but absent in the culture of those countries where English is serving the role of mother tongue or first language.

### 3.3.7.1 Collocational Deviation: Degrees:

A collocation must have two or more words which may basically be categorized under following three degrees:

**First Degree of Collocation:** Under this degree, the items / members may be found in the Standard English but is used in a different context or register in Indian English. It refers some novel meaning of Indian Culture; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First Degree Collocation</th>
<th>Indian Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Afternoon prayer (A Dying Banyan, 32)</td>
<td>Muslims’ Asir Ki Namaz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With folded hands (Urvashi, 74)</td>
<td>greeting or welcoming someone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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\(^1\) Kachru, Braj B. 1983. The Indianization of English: The English Language in India. P.134.

\(^2\) Ibid.
Second Degree of Collocation: Under this degree, the meaning is culture restricted & the lexical item which are generally in form of compound words present non – native collocation; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second Degree Collocation</th>
<th>Indian Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head-cloth (The Silver Bangles, 110)</td>
<td>‘Ghooghat’, ‘Pallu’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage pipes (Cabuliwala, 19)</td>
<td>‘Sehnai’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermillion print of her footstep (Breast Giver, 16)</td>
<td>‘An Indian ritual generally performed at the first entry of a nearly wedded bride.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third Degree of Collocation: This degree of deviation goes against the selection rule of a language. In this, the contextual use of collocation may hoist no problem for the users of Standard English, but along with the node * (that lexical item in a collocation that is in focus to determine the range in items of the sets following and preceding the node) of a collocation, the collectability of a term or word may become extraordinary, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three Degree Collocation</th>
<th>Indian Meaning and Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“…dung–heap of Hinduism” (Outlook India, Aug. 20, 2012)</td>
<td>In the first and second examples, the collocations ‘dung heap’ stands for a heap of several dried hand-made pieces of dung cake used as fuel for cooking. In the first example ‘dung heap’ is used as a curse to communicate the uselessness of the religion; whereas the second example communicates about the undeveloped Indian village with tons of dung and its stink, as well. In both examples, the collocation is able to generate the actual meaning due to other words or phrases used after it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“…a dung heap of a Punjabi village” (Dhaka Tribune, Aug. 23, 2014)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.7.2 Types of Collocational Deviation: There are two types of collocational deviation; e.g.

- **Formal Collocational Deviation:** - Formal Collocational Deviation means deviation of lexical item that chiefly plays part in the structure of a collocation; e.g. “head cloth” (Seven Summers, 27) घूघट / पल्ला

- **Contextual Collocational Deviation:** - This is formally non-deviant but culture specific; e.g. ‘cane-bed’ (The White Tiger, 16) ‘arthee’ / ‘shavshaiyya’.

1 Words are extracted from an essay written by Khushwant Singh.
3.3.7.3 Deletion in Indian English Collocation:

In Indian English collocation, the translation or equivalence is used on the analogy of Sanskrit/Hindi pattern. In this, lexicon is placed to acclaim possession or relation without the use of preposition ‘of’. This shows the deletion of preposition ‘of’, on the analogy of Hindi or Sanskrit ‘Samas’ (compound word – samast pad). In Indian English, such formations can be easily found. Some examples are as follows:

### 3.3.7.3.1 Prepositional Compound Word

- **Relation Compound Word** (*Sambandh Tatpurush ‘ka’, ‘ki’ and ‘ke’):**
  Wherever, deletion of preposition ‘of’ occurs, and it communicates some possession or relation, it is Relation (Tatpurush) Compound word; e.g. ‘Ganges water’ for ‘water of the Ganges’. Similarly:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Hindi word</th>
<th>Standard English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Incense stick (The White Tiger, 165)</td>
<td><em>Dhoopbatti/ agarbatti</em></td>
<td>Stick of Incense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandal Paste (The Cabuliwala, 18)</td>
<td><em>Chandan ka lep</em></td>
<td>Paste of sandal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peacock tail fan (Once There Was a King, 38)</td>
<td><em>Morpankh ka pankha</em></td>
<td>Fan of Peacock Tail</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In English, deletion of preposition ‘of’ also occurs in the possessive case of Noun e.g. ‘APJ Abdul Kalam’s autobiography’ for (autobiography of APJ Abdul Kalam) etc., but it can never be mentioned as ‘APJ Abdul Kalam autobiography’ or ‘Autobiography APJ Abdul Kalam’. Hence, the structures that denote living beings, and can be mentioned in Noun case of Possession (‘s), can’t be used to from compound words in Indian English.

- **Detachment Showing Compound Word ‘from’** (*Apaadan Tatpurush ‘se’):**
  Sometimes, deletion of ‘from (से)’ has also been noticed on the analogy of Sanskrit/Hindi ‘Apaadan Tatpurush’ (अपादान तत्पुरुष); e.g.
### Indian English vs. Standard English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian English</th>
<th>Standard English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Abhay, the foreign returned student, has…”</td>
<td>“…the returned British migrant features only...”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(An Illustrated History of Indian Literature in English, 331)</td>
<td>(Echoes of Mutiny, 172)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“…the Gadar outbreak of the America-returned and other revolutionary Sikhs in the Punjab in 1914-1915”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Foreign returned = Returned from a Foreign Country
- American returned = Returned from America

**Explanation:** The use of verb ‘returned’ as a non-finite form of verb (Past Participle form) *after the name of the place/country* is commonly used in Indian English but not found in Standard English. In Standard English, it is used just before the concerning noun.

- **‘For’ Compound Word (Sampradan Tatprush):** - This formation is based on deletion of preposition ‘for’ and sometimes, ‘during; e.g.

  - “puja shopping” (The Dancing Boy, Section 17) shopping for *puja*
  - “shagun envelope”(Indian Essentials, 83) envelope for *shagun*

- **Periodic Compound Word Deletion of ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘upon’, ‘during’ etc. (Adhikaran Tatpurush- me, pe, par)**

  - “puja holidays” (The Cabuliwala, 14) holiday during Prometheus days

  “In American English, this (name of the festival + holidays) has become the phrase, used to describe the period over Christmas and New Year, fashioned to avoid giving offence to those who might be mortified at living in culture which Christianity is occasionally practised. Its use to describe the period in Britain is to be deplored, not least for its in exactitude. There is nothing wrong with ‘the Christmas holidays’. Otherwise what in British English is called holidays are in American vacations, though that term has long been used here to describe a university holiday.”

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• **Compound Word for Wherewithal (by) (Karan Tatprush):**

**Example**

“He read newer authors as well, Graham Greene and Somerset Maugham, all purchased from his favourite stall on college Street with *Puja money.*”

(The Namesake, 12)

**Explanation**

Here, the compound word ‘puja money’ is based on the analogy of ‘karan tatpurush samas’ that supports the deletion of preposition ‘by’, which informs some wherewithal

Puja Money = money earned by (the means of performing the rituals of) puja.

• **Compound Word of Object (Karm Tatpurush):** In this the compound word mentions the object on which some activity has been done by subject (doer). Hence, it together contains an object and a subject, or the words that denote both object as well as subject; e.g.

“Worth Salt”

Salt spoiler (Untouchable, 205)

The idiomatic Indian meaning of ‘salt-spoiler’ is ‘the person who does not acknowledge others’ support or help when his work is done’. Similarly, ‘one who acknowledges and remains faithful even after the accomplishment of his work is known, in Indian English, as ‘worth salt’.

3.3.7.3.2 Compound Word Generating Novel Meaning (Bahuvreeh Samas): The compound word that communicates some unique and specific meaning different from the meanings of the used units may be termed as *Bahuvreeh Compound Word*; e.g.

“Salt giver” (Kanthapura, 1938, 20) Salt + giver = One who provides salt (i.e. means of bread) = Employer

3.3.7.3.3 Quality denoting Compound Word (Karmdaray Samas): When any adjective and noun are used together and share the relation of any metaphorical noun;

---

Though there are some metaphorical word formations also in Standard English that are similar to ‘Karmadharay samas’ of Hindi Grammar; e.g. ‘father-figure’ (The Myth of the Missing Black Father, 159) means ‘father like figure’, yet the contextual meaning may vary culture wise.

3.3.7.3.4 Number Specific Compound Words (Dvigu Samas): There are certain compound words that have the first word denoting number. These compound formations refer to some cultural, regional or philosophical Indian meaning; e.g.

“A key challenge that has to be faced by the book retailers in India is the second hand book market and piracy as a threat to the market.”
(Retailing Management, 39)

‘Seven rebirths’ (The Guide, 184)

‘Nine Strand’ thread (He Who Rides a Tiger, 45)

Expressions like ‘second hand’ for book market, ‘seven’ for birth and rebirths, ‘nine’ denotes some cultural or religious meaning that are unknown to the native speakers of English; whereas as Indians very naturally and skilfully coin such compound words on the analogy of Hindi ‘Dvigu samas’. Most of the time, such formations denote meanings full of Indianness.

3.3.7.3.5 Equivalent Compound Formation (Dwand Samas): In this kind of compound formation both units belong to the same part of speech and enjoy the same status. Generally, it contains a hyphen (-), in between. However, when these compound words are written as separate units, either conjunction ‘and’ or ‘or’ replaces the hyphen; e.g.

Exploring the ‘teacher – student relationship’
(Teaching Yoga, Cover Page)

“Myaraj, you are my father– mother”
(Untouchable, 92)
Hence, on the analogy of Hindi Grammar, deletion of conjunctions (and, or), prepositions (for, of, from, during, etc.), simile (like, as etc.) and certain other words may be observed in Indian English. As most of these types of formations are foreign to Standard English, they bring Indianness in Indian English. However, a few compound word formations (e.g. *Dwand Samas*) seem equivalent, yet have special meaning, true to Indian context. In Indian English ‘**Modifier + Noun**’ may also be framed; e.g. ‘godson’ along with Standard English structure ‘**son of god**’ (Head + PP + Qualifier).

Here, it should also be noticed that this formation is somehow based on the analogy of ‘Landlord’ or ‘Landlady’ that means ‘owner of land’, male or female respectively. Though, sometimes, the word ‘landlady’ is also used for the wife of ‘landlord’.

### 3.3.7.4 Collocation of More than Two Units:

Sometimes, collocation of more than two units, have also been formed; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Extracts</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“rice initiation ceremony” (Kanthapura, 37)</td>
<td>In each of these examples, a group of words functions as modifier that precedes each noun; e.g. ‘<strong>rice initiation ceremony</strong>’. In this, ‘rice’ functions as a modifier and ‘ceremony’ as a noun. Indian culture &amp; tradition is also being reflected by these formations. Moreover, it has a little relevance in the countries where English is used as a mother tongue or first language. In some cases of collocation in Indian English; e.g. ‘<strong>inter-caste marriage</strong>’, ‘<strong>inter-caste dining</strong>’ and ‘<strong>inter-state relationship</strong>’ understanding of context is extremely essential, otherwise only the semantic understanding of the collocation will lead the reader to chaotic consequences; e.g. ‘<strong>vermillion dot</strong>’. (The Guide, 179) To a native speaker, the semantic meaning of ‘vermillion dot’ is a dot made of vermillion (a kind of red powder) whereas the contextual and cultural meaning of the same is much deeper and different. It is a means of beautification and the mark of auspiciousness to Hindu married women whose husband is alive. They put it for the well being and long life of their husbands. Similarly, ‘<strong>brown-sugar</strong>’ is a term used for a kind of narcotic substance; but in Indian English ‘<strong>raw brown sugar</strong>’ is used to mention a kind of sweetened substance made generally of sugarcane juice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Another aspect of maintain varnasramadharma was the prevention of <strong>inter-caste marriage</strong>...the highest sin.” (Kingship in Northern India, 76)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The same was the case with <strong>inter-caste dining</strong>. (Ibid)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International law plays a very important part in modern <strong>inter-state relationship</strong>. (Ibid,111)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“vermillion dot” (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 179)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“raw brown sugar” (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 27)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.3.7.5 Indian Context with Reference to Indianness:

Contextually determined or loaded Indianness has specific roles, association and importance in Indian aspects.
This, generally, deviates from Standard English and, are unintelligible to them. Sometimes, description is required to make it intelligible for the native speakers of English because it exhibits local culture and tradition of India. Several times, it also presents ‘transfer of collocation from Indian language’. Non-hybrid formations related to Indianness are generally based on a semantic shift in Indian English. Though, sometimes such formations are contextually Indian but may involve a semantic shift. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Meaning in Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material Objects:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘alms bowl’ (He who Rides a Tiger, 44)</td>
<td>भीख का कटोरा</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘betel leaf box’ (The Castaway, 119)</td>
<td>पानदान</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Religious Activities:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“burning camphor” or “Passed your fingers” over the camphor flames and took your fingers to your forehead” (India: A Million Mutinies Now,79)</td>
<td>‘आर्थी जलना’ या ‘आर्थी लेना’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Folk/Cultural/Dance:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Ankel bells”(Train to Pakistan, 37)</td>
<td>धूपबल्ली</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Music/Culture:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Gourd flute” (The Guide, P. 66)</td>
<td>धूल की फूल</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Function:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Wedding pipes” or “Marriage pipes” (The Kabuliwala, 15)</td>
<td>शहनाई, खेती नगार्डे या नगार्डे शहनाई, खेती नगार्डे या नगार्डे These are mostly played during wedding ceremony in India.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Marriage Drums” (The Dark Dancer, 1958)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Flora –fauna:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Marriage garlands”(Once There was a King, 40)</td>
<td>जयमाला पान की पोटली</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Betel - bag” (Kanthapura, 31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Socio – religious/ Social Activity:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Bride showing” (Music for Mohini, 48)</td>
<td>श्रीधरियां प्रफा’ (श्री दिवालियां हस्तियां)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Cradling Ceremony’… find a name’ (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 80)</td>
<td>‘ujyala’ in Telugu and ‘उज्ज्वली’ संस्करण संस्करण in Hindi region.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Royal System:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Procession throne” (Kanthapura, 143)</td>
<td>शाही पलक शाही पलक</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Relationship of Caste and Social Hierarchy:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The red mark of religion on his forehead” (The White Tiger, 300)</td>
<td>जात का लाल चिह्न जात का लाल चिह्न</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social roles:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Village elders” (Music for Mohini, 133)</td>
<td>‘बुजुर्ग’, ‘बूजुर्ग’ या बूजुर्ग ‘बुजुर्ग’, ‘बूजुर्ग’ या बूजुर्ग</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Top caste or bottom caste” (The White Tiger, 64)</td>
<td>ऊँच जाति या नीच जाति ऊँच जाति या नीच जाति</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.7.6 Indianness in Hybrid Formations: The phrase ‘Indianness in hybrid formation’ indicates the formation that is ‘half Indian’ and ‘half English’. It is clear

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by the phrase itself that it is a compound word or phrase that carries words or items from both the languages; i.e. English and Hindi. To be clearer it may be mentioned as:

- **English word + Indian word**: e.g.
  
  Earthen + chulha = “earthen chulha” (Lajwanti and Other Stories, 114),
  
  Box + wallah = “boxwallah” (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 48)

- **Hindi word + English word**: e.g.
  
  Attar + bottle = “attar bottle” (The Serpent and the Rope, 266)
  
  Pan + juice = “Pan juice” (India: a Million Mutinies Now)

Hybrid formations are used by the Indian author especially to present the exact Indian meaning which is the requirement of the noble aim of a writer. In Indian culture, various kinds of cooking places or objects are used which are either known by their Hindi or English term for example ‘chulah’, ‘stove’, ‘angeethi’ ‘bhati’ and in present times ‘gas stove/chulha’ etc. Therefore, to present an exact picture Indian authors have to form such hybrid terms.

However, in certain cases, these terms remain incapable to present the actual meaning; e.g. ‘Pan-juice’. Now, ‘juice’ means extract of any edible thing in liquid form but pan-juice is actually saliva mixed with the crushed and chewed particles of pan and other pan-spices (so called juice). In Hindi, it has a specific term ‘peek’ which is far different from ‘spit’, ‘saliva’, ‘ras’ (juice) etc.

3.3.7.7 Politeness: The Main Ingredient of Indianness: The talk of Indianness would be incomplete without the discussion of ‘politeness’ which is one of the major ingredients of Indianness. Polite attitude is a universal aspect but the semantic traits which form the concept of politeness is not universal. “Politeness is not pan-cultural but culture – specific.”\(^1\)

Other that the body posture, body gesture, body action and movement, the linguistic expressions employed in communication also expresses politeness. The politeness

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1 Shaikh, F.A; A Discourage Analysis of Khushwant Singh’s Novel ‘Train to Pakistan’; Perspectives on Indian English Fiction; Ed. Jay dip Sinh Dodiya. P. 210.
specific terms are certain titles, kinship terms, honorific pronouns, plural markers and questions, etc.

The Indian terms like ‘maryada’, ‘shaleenta’, ‘sheel’, ‘shista’, ‘bhadrta’ (borrowed from Sanskrit into Hindi) denote various colours and personality traits related to ‘vinamrta’. The English term ‘politeness’, thus, remains insufficient to express all these Indian expressions. As, “Language in literature is language in communication….It can be regarded as one of the ways of using language of real life in particular contexts.”1 Thus, as a result, the language artists or the literary writers have to move ahead to find out the ways to represent the various shades of politeness of Indian culture. “Whereas the connotations of refinement and consideration for others appear to be common feature of what is meant by politeness, in Indian context, two additional, equally indispensable features are modesty and humility. It is the idea of modesty that prescribes that one is not supposed to accept a compliment with a show of gratitude; rather, one is supposed to deny that the compliment is merited. In another approach, the acceptance has to be humbled by some remark that transfers the focus to some other elements.” Some examples of politeness are as follows:

“I am putting my **turban at your feet**” said old Hari Ram to Chaudhri Ganga Ram, literally removing his enormous crown of cloth from his head and placing it on the shoes of his daughter’s father – in law .(Lajwanti and Other Stories. 21)

“If your humble servant” (Ibid, 24) (For self-reference by men in communicating with their masters and superiors)

“What is your good name?” (The Tribune, June, 3, 2012)

This sounds polite and lyrical, though it is the literal translation of Hindi ‘आपका शुभनाम क्या है?’

Politeness, the unique feature of Indian English can be measured under the following categories:

- **Addresses and Reference Terms:** - Several address terms differ in their formality in English and Indian English,

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1 Syal, Pushpinder; Structure and Style in Commonwealth Literature; (Quoted in Indianness: A Study of Coolie by Jaydeep Sarangi.)
### Chapter 3: Indianization of English: Empirical Framework

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard English</th>
<th>Indian English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Title alone; e.g.</td>
<td><strong>Title and honorific suffix or Term</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sir</td>
<td>• Sir ji (The Tribune, June, 3, 2012)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Inspector Sahib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madam</td>
<td>• Mem-sahib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Babu sahib (Train of Pakistan, 35)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>• Bibiji (Lajwanti and Other Stories, 48)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor</td>
<td><strong>Only Honorific Tags</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professor etc.</td>
<td>• Huzoor (Train of Pakistan, 35) ’malik’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Or</td>
<td>• Salt giver, Sahib (Ibid) ’annadatta’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr./Ms./ Mrs. (Name)</td>
<td>• Your honour (Ibid, 84) ‘huzoor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Government (Ibid, 26) ’Sarkar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Cherisher of the poor (Ibid, 23) ’garibon ka maseeha’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kinship Terms:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Kinship Terms along with Names:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Sister (In hospital, nurses are mostly addressed, sometimes even with suffix – ji), Mataji, Uncle ji, Bhai Shahab (elder), Behan ji (elder)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Chacha Imam Baksh (Train to Pakistan, 15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Uncle Imam Baksh (Ibid)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Greeting:** - The way Indians greet one another also depicts the aspect of politeness in Indian English. There is a tendency in Indian languages to form a relationship or to address any unknown or less known person (neighbour, passer-by etc.) as a relative one. This feature is missing in Standard English. Such addresses in greetings may also be easily noticed in the conversation among the people even of different religions; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Various religions that are found in India</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Salam Chacha Imam Baksh, Salam Khair Dina Salam, Salam. Sat Sri Aakal, Lambardar, Sat Sri Akal’ answered the Muslims.” (Train to Pakistan, 110)</td>
<td><strong>Salam- Muslim</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Folded his palms and bowed all around him.” (Ibid, 103)</td>
<td><strong>Sat Sri Aakal- Sikh</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“You have to bow down to touch his feet, and touch the dust under his slippers.” (The White Tiger, 25)</td>
<td><strong>Folded his palms and bowed all around him</strong> (Parikrama karna)- <strong>Hindu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Aayu falls on the feet Aushnary.” (Urvashi, 125)</td>
<td><strong>…to bow down…to touch his feet…the dust under his slippers</strong> (charan sparsh karna)- <strong>Hindu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>falls on the feet (dandwat pranam)</strong>- <strong>Hindu</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The communication (i) informs us about the identity of the addressee. In the first part, Sikhs are greeting Muslims and in the second part, Muslims are responding Sikhs. In the exchange of words, terms (indicating relations or status as ‘Chacha’ & ‘Lambardar’) etc., are used by the persons of different religions. Example (ii) mentions the most common Indian gesture of greeting. Examples (iii) & (iv) exhibit the supreme politeness (श्रृद्धा एवं समर्पण) towards someone. Example (iv) represents Indian supreme devotion ‘दण्डकत्र प्रणाम’, that a son is showing to his father by the way of his greeting. All these ways of greetings highlight Indianness of Indian culture that is the outcome of politeness.

- **Blessings:** To bless someone is also a way to express one’s politeness in certain sense. It may occur in a situation related to artisans etc. It may be, sometimes, a part of greeting and leave takings, e.g.

  “May you ever rule. May your pen write hundreds of thousands” (Train to Pakistan 23) (भगवान करें आप हमेशा राज करें। भगवान करें आपकी कलम हजारो लाखो लिखें।)

  “May your fame and honours increase. May your pen write figures of thousands and hundreds of thousands” (Ibid, 23) (भगवान करें आप का नाम और शोहरत और बढ़े। भगवान करें आप हजारो लाखो कमाओ/आपकी कलम हजारो लाखो लिखें।)

In the above example, a toothless old woman is greeting and blessing the magistrate. Hukum Chand, in a sonorous singing of praise. She is showing the gratitude for getting a five rupee note that the magistrate, has thrown as a reward of a good musical performance.

According to the lexical and syntactic features, the mentioned blessings seem exactly the same but in reality; because of the context, the two perform quite different functions. The first one greets while the second one thanks the money donor.

- **Expression of Personal Praise (Complimenting):** Compliment, somehow, is also a medium of expressing politeness to someone at personal level if made in a healthy and positive way. The same is, its response too. These recognised items of human discourse enhance and consolidates the camaraderie between the person who compliments and the one who receives; e.g. “My friend! Merciful goddess! Giver of Protection! Auspicious! Divine self! Bestower of Peace! (Urvashi, 86)
In this saying a number of exclamatory addresses are being made that represent the high level of politeness and devotion of the speaker.

“Haseena, you are Haseen, Your mother has chosen your name well.” (Train to Pakistan, 88)

In this, the compliment made by the magistrate, explains the aptness of the name of the young dancer, with her beauty. He mentions that her name is the perfect match with her appearance. This also, somehow, expresses a thing of politeness of Indians English. These all examples show that Indians are less direct in speech. They are more polite, emotional but inquisitive in making requests.

Hence, it can be said that the theme of Indianness is a too difficult to explain in mere words. Yet, here attempts have been made to establish that if anything anyhow is related to India, the presence of Indianness always remains, especially in the linguistic expressions, irrespective of the chosen language. Its presence is beyond doubt. The only thing required is - Indianness “should be identified, labelled, itemized and brandished like a visa”

3.4 LINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE FROM HINDI AND INTERNAL ANALOGY IN THE GRAMMAR OF INDIAN ENGLISH

According to psycho-linguistic origins, Dulay and Burt (1973, 1974) have pointed out ‘interference’ and ‘the first language development errors’. But, here efforts are made to justify and establish ‘Linguistic Interference from Hindi’ as a need, acute requirement of time and for the growth of English Language. Thus, it must not be considered as a mistake or an error but an intentional activity for some very specific reasons; like trading, communication, establishing friendly relation, to impress (Indians and others), to govern etc.

“On 31 December 1600, Queen Elizabeth signed a Charter granting permission to a group of enterprising merchants of the city of London to trade with India…” This has initiated / kindled linguistic interference from Indian languages to English and vice versa. The merchants of the trading body, the East India Company, were known as “Indian Nabobs”

(The Story of English in India, 9) in England whereas the EIC remained only ‘jageerdars’ (Ibid) under the Mughal Sovereign till 1759. These frequently used Indian titles and other words by Britishers themselves, during the exploration and transportation phase, gave way to the linguistic interference from Hindi, Urdu and other Indian languages into English. Later on, this practice was full heartedly adopted by Indians and other English speakers. This Linguistic interference can also be observed in official and judicial activities. The Act of 1765 was named as ‘Diwani Act’ (by which the EIC collected the revenue as ‘Diwan’ in Indian regions like Bengal, Bihar and Orissa). The terms ‘Diwani’ also indicates the impact of Hindi grammar on English language because the term ‘Diwan’ means ‘Collector’, (one who collects) and by adding Hindi suffix ‘-i’ to it, it communicates ‘that is related to collection’ or ‘something related to collection’. Hence, ‘the Diwani Act’ means ‘the Act related to collection of revenue’. The names of the institutions founded by Warren Hastings, the Governor (1772 to 1785) may also be taken as examples of linguistic interference, for one was ‘Calcutta Madrassa’ (founded in 1781) and another was ‘Banares Sanskrit College’ (founded in 1791). At lexical level, this interference, from Hindi and some other Indian languages, has also been adopted by most renowned English dictionaries. This caused the inclusion of several Indian words (especially Hindi words) in English language. Though, interference is an obvious process during social contact between two groups of different languages. For bilinguals, it often, serves "as the agent of diffusion"¹ (that takes place purely in spoken form).

The term ‘linguistic interference’, introduced by Uriel Weinreich “denotes the process of deviation from the structural norms of a language manifested in the speech of bilinguals as the result of their familiarity with another language.”² Some major reasons that cause linguistic interference are follows:

a. More exposure case in Mother tongue/First language than second or foreign language.

b. Learning of functional grammar of mother tongue or first language occurs naturally. Whereas to learn or acquire second or foreign language, one has to

² Ibid.
make sincere efforts to learn and follow strict grammar rules. This often causes overlapping and linguistic interference.

c. Due to limited knowledge of vocabulary of second and foreign language, interference from mother tongue or first language occurs at certain times for an exact expression.

d. As none can refrain oneself from the impact of mother tongue; thus, as a result interference from Indian languages (especially in pronunciation and grammar) occurs in English used by Indians.

e. Sometimes linguistic interference occurs to show one's expertise on more than one language.

f. To present any cultural, regional, traditional, religious meaning or context mother tongue interferes in English.

g. Several times, for the sake of promoting curiosity and novelty, interference is skillfully taken into use.

3.4.1. Linguistic Interference from Hindi: On the basis of the aforesaid reasons, linguistic interference can be distinguished into following types:

3.4.1.1 Phonetic/ Phonological Interference (from Hindi into English): Phonological interference is one of the strongest and the most visible interference. Perhaps, it is the hardest to pass up. In this Hindi, sounds, stress, rhythm, pitch and intonation pattern interfere into English language. These interferences occur because some sounds; like /ŋ/, /ʒ/ etc. do not exist in Hindi. Hence, a habitual Hindi speaker, knowingly or sometimes unknowingly, interferes some similar sound to pronounce them; e.g.

- “Father! Ramdayal, the doorkeeper, calls a crow a krow!” (The Cabuliwallah, 5)
- "It's not PIJJA. It's Pizza…. There's a T in the middle. Peet Zah…. Pijja, Pzijja, Zippja, Pizja…” (The White Tiger, 154)

These examples show the difference as well as problems in the articulation of some English sounds in the English manner. Many a times, Indian English speakers are not
familiar with the rules of English pronunciation. There are differences between the rules of Hindi and English pronunciation.

- Due to interference of Hindi, deletion of sound / r / does not occur in any word position in the speech of most of the Indian English speakers; whereas in Standard British English sound / r / occurs only before a vowel; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Words</th>
<th>Standard British Pronunciation</th>
<th>American Pronunciation</th>
<th>Interference of Hindi Pronunciation system in Indian English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conserve</td>
<td>/kan'særv/</td>
<td>/kan'sərv/</td>
<td>/kan'særv/ or /kan'sərv/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pearl</td>
<td>/pərl/</td>
<td>/pərl/ or /pəːrl/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shirt</td>
<td>/ʃərt/</td>
<td>/ʃərt/ or /ʃəːrt/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- “Because of the interference of Hindi in the speech of many North Indians there is no existence of sound /ʒ/ only /ə/ occurs”³; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Word</th>
<th>British Pronunciation</th>
<th>American Pronunciation</th>
<th>Interference of Hindi Pronunciation system</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Girl</td>
<td>/ɡəl/</td>
<td>/ɡəl(-ə)l/</td>
<td>/ɡərl/ or /ɡəːrl/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Interference from Hindi speech system does not permit any of the aspirated sounds; whereas it always occurs in Standard English in the production of /p/, /t/ and /k/ at initial state of syllable and word.

- Interference from Hindi also causes flat pronunciation even of a stressed syllable or putting stress on an unstressed syllable. Stress and intonation are of extreme importance in Standard English but has no major relevance in Hindi word syllable because Hindi (most of the other Indian languages) has not such type of rule to distinguish the parts of speech. That is why most of the Indians cannot make differentiation in a verb and noun; e.g. ‘Import = Noun and Im’port = Verb

- Epenthetic vowels /l, ə/ sometimes proceed the clusters / sp, st, sk / in one of the types of Indian English; but it is not usually found; e.g.

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1 http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/
2 http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary
The sound of /I/ is inferred in Indian English in the words that begin with two or more consonant sounds. In English language such words don't have vowel between them. English language has a number of such words but in Hindi, words do not begin with these consonant sounds especially without a vowel sound. This is the reason why Indians infer vowel /I/ at the beginning of such words.

From Hindi speech system, the aspirated voiceless dental plosive /θ/ is interfered for /θ/ of Received Pronunciation; and /d/, the unaspirated voiced dental plosive, interferes for /ð/ of Received Pronunciation.

Interference from Hindi also gives way for the retroflex plosives /T/ and /D/ replacing the alveolar plosive of Standard English /t/ and /d/.

In English language there is “no one to one correlation between spelling and pronunciation”¹ whereas almost every Indian language is phonetic. Every letter of alphabets of Indian languages denotes sound which is generally same in their spoken and written form. Similarly, Hindi matches the spoken form with the written form where as Roman languages often lack such quality. This causes English silent sounds to be pronounced by most of the Indian speakers (if not trained); e.g. in Standard English ‘bridge’ is pronounced leaving /d/ sound as /brɪdʒ/; which is often pronounced using /d/ sound in Indian English.

3.4.1.2 Structural or Grammatical Interference: Indian English has interference at structural and grammatical level which can be analyzed on the following basis; e.g.

3.4.1.2.1 Use of Intonation to form an Interrogative from an Affirmative Structure: Because of structural or grammatical interference from Hindi language,

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Hindi sentence structure is generally used in an English sentence; especially while making an interrogation. In Hindi, question is also being asked by the use of Intonation on an Affirmative structure. Such types of structure are often heard in oral Hindi communications; e.g. You are going? (Aap ja rahe hai?) instead of ‘Are you going?’ (Kya aap ja rahe hai?)

‘Good, you came, Chitralekha? (Urvashi, 83) (Achha, tum aagaye, Chitralekha?) (Interrogative sentence in Hindi sentence structure)

3.4.1.2.2 **Duplication used for Emphasis and Over Emphasis**: Most of the Indian Languages, including Hindi prefer emphasis, sometimes overemphasis. Duplication is one of the Indian devices used for the purpose; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Indian English</strong></th>
<th><strong>Standard English</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Duplication of Noun)</td>
<td>(Duplication of Main Verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“There are only lotus, and lotus…” (Urvashi, 41)</td>
<td>“I am getting burnt-burnt…”(Urvashi, 107)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“From house to house, house to house, house to house” (The White Tiger, 60)</td>
<td>“I got, got” (Ibid, 125)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘There are only lotuses’</td>
<td>I am getting burnt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘From one house to another’</td>
<td>I got.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Duplication of address)</td>
<td>(Duplication of Helping Verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Babuji, Babuji, God will make you prosperous”. (Untouchable, 90)</td>
<td>“I don't smoke, I don't drink, I don't steel.....I don't disrespect God, I don't disrespect my family....” (The White Tiger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May you be prosperous! OR May God make you prosperous!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Duplication of Present Participle)</td>
<td>(Duplication of Present Participle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“That sparkling—sparkling spring of water.” (Urvashi, 97)</td>
<td>“That sparkling spring of water.” (Urvashi, 97)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That sparking spring of water.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above quoted extracts give a clear picture of duplication at various parts of speech for emphasis or over emphasis. This presents the linguistic interference from Hindi and internal analogy in the Grammar of Indian English.
3.4.1.2.3 **Unnecessary deletion or insertion of any part of speech on the analogy of Hindi grammar:** Some sentences of Indian English are discussed here along with their would be structure of Standard English; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian English</th>
<th>Standard English</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I do not have anything.” (Urvashi, 40)</td>
<td>I have nothing.</td>
<td>Wordiness in Indian English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Only a short time before….” (The Child’s Return, 49)</td>
<td>Only a little time before…</td>
<td>Selection of word ‘short’ instead of ‘little’ for time span</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“You were so interested and carefree and happy then.” (Ibid, 131)</td>
<td>You were so interested, carefree and happy then.</td>
<td>Unnecessary use of ‘and’ instead of ‘a comma’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Did you or did you not promise that you would never mention it again?” (Ibid, 148)</td>
<td>Did you not promise that you would never mention it again?</td>
<td>Unusual use of ‘did’ as ‘Did you or did you not promise…’ based on the analogy of Hindi grammar as ‘Tumne wada kiya tha ya nai…’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Do you know what 99% doctors have used when in pain?” (Stardust, Dec. 2012, 33)</td>
<td>Do you know what 99% doctors use when they feel pain? OR Do you know what 99% doctors use in/during pain?</td>
<td>Preference in selection of Tense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.1.2.4 **Use of Interrogative word as an Interjection:** “Why! What will happen tomorrow?” (Urvashi, 94) Based on Hindi Grammar (Kyo, kal kya hoga?)

**Standard English:** What will happen tomorrow?

3.4.1.2.5 **Virtue conjugated with vice:** “A fat and fair boy” (A Dying Banyan, 29)

**Standard English:** A fair but fat boy.

3.4.1.2.6 **Use of Hindi Suffix ‘-i’:** “Abbu's Muradabadi brass spittoon” (A Dying Banyan, 23) (Interference of Hindi ‘case of possession’ instead of (-’s) apostrophe or preposition ‘of’ and preposition ‘of’)

**Standard English:** Abbu's spittoon of brass/ made of brass from Muradabad.
3.4.1.3 Lexical Interference/Vocabulary Interference: Lexical interference or vocabulary interference from Hindi into English language occurs in the following ways:

3.4.1.3.1 Direct Lexical Interference (code switching): In this type of interference a term or word from Hindi-Urdu or any other Indian language occurs into English without any change or modification; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plural Form:</strong></td>
<td>Although ‘chuddy’ (चूड़ी) is a Hindi word but by adding the plural inflection form ‘-es’ the Hindi word has been converted into English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Kiss my chuddies” (The Observer, April, 2004)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Merriment:</strong></td>
<td>Name of the famous BBC TV programme: Hindi words ‘Ha Ha Hee Hee’ refers to laughter or pleasant times.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Life isn’t all Ha Ha Hee Hee”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direct Lexicon:</strong></td>
<td>The Persian word ‘Ustad’ for master and Hindi word ‘alaap’ for musical notes have been used as it is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“After she had re-turned it, the Ustad sang a few phrases of a slow alaap…” (A Suitable Boy, 294)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For this kind of interference (Direct Lexicon) thousands of examples can be cited from various sources. Native as well as non-native writers, poets, journalists as well as the common users, all use Hindi lexicon as per their need and desire. ‘Light of Asia’ by Sir Edwin Arnold (1832) also encounters several lexicons of various registers from Hindi language. Some are as follows:

- Architectural - Angana, Koss
- Casticism “The Brahmin proud, the martial Kshatriya, the humble toiling Sudra…” (Book-III, 70)
- Cosmetics - Soorma-stick
- Culture – Purdhah (It is a system in Indian society)
- Flora & Fauna - Tulsi, Asoka, Jumbu Tree, Nelumbo, Karunda, Mogra, Koil, Bulb
- Indian Rituals - Jnana kand (126), Karma kand (127)
- Insect & Reptiles - Nag (used for a reptile) (Book-III, 70)
- Musical instrument - Sitar
- Mythology – Yakshas
- Numeric – Lakh (Book- I, 21)
- Religion - Swastika, Tilak
- Seasons – Wasant
- Spirituality - Dhyana, Guru, Acharya
- Superstitions - Bhut
- Transportation - Gadi
- Weighing unit – Tola; and many more
Similarly, the writings of Indian writers in English are full of Hindi words because of the required need. Bhattacharya, Raja Rao, Rohinton Mistry, Adig, Jhumpa Lehri, Vekram Seth, Khushwant Singh etc. are among them. Many a times when no word of English seems that much eligible to fulfill the requirement, interference of Hindi lexicon becomes an acute need.

3.4.1.3.2 Translated Interference:- In this type of interference a Hindi word or term is directly or plainly translated into English whereas the translated term is not in that type of use in Standard English; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Hindi Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“cow dust hour” (The Strange Case of Billy Biswas, 99)</td>
<td>gau dhuli bela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“song writer uncle” (Ibid, 64)</td>
<td>geetkaar chacah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“incense stick” (The White Tiger, 165)</td>
<td>dhoop/agar batti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“lotus position” (Ibid, 195)</td>
<td>padamaasan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation: The term ‘cow dust hour’ literal translation of ‘gau dhuli bela’ refers to the time when cattle return home spreading immense dust in the atmosphere. ‘Song writer uncle’ refers the specific Indian way of address in which some familiar one who is actually not a relative, is addressed as uncle along with some of his specific quality. ‘Incense stick’ is a thing used by most of the Indians during worship; and ‘Lotus-position’ belongs to Indian Yog Shastra. Since Indian ‘Yog’ (Yoga) has been internationally recognized, most of the Hindi / Sanskrit related terms have also been acknowledged and adopted internationally.

3.4.1.3.3 Partial Lexicon Interference:- In this, either of an item of a compound term, interferes from Hindi language e.g.

Hindi/ Indian Word+ English Word

- Toupee job (The White Tiger, 226) = Toupee + job for Toupee kaam
- Tandav dance (Stardust Dec. 12, 39) = Tandav+ dance
- Sehri Time (TOI, 28 Dec. 2012) = Sehri+time
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- Heena design (The Sari Shop, eBook) = Heena + design
- Mehndi ceremony (Ibid) = Mehndi + ceremony
- Vilayati blood (The Strange Case of Billy Biswas, 114) = Vilayati + blood

**English Word + Hindi Word**

- Bridal odhnis (The Sari Shop, eBook) = Bridal + odhnis
- Ivory chooda (Ibid) = Ivory + chooda
- Expensive kaleere (Ibid) = Expensive + kaleere
- Potato vada (The White Tiger, 20) = Potato + vada for ‘Aalo vada’

**English Word + Hindi Suffix**

- Bioscopewall (Stardust, Dec. 2012) = Bioscope + wali
- Boxwala (India: A Million Mutinies Now) = Box + wala for ‘Dabbe wala’

### 3.4.1.3.4 Interference of Hindi Lexicon with English Grammatical Influence or Vice Versa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Brahminical” (India: A Million Mutinies Now, 246)</td>
<td>Hindi word ‘Brahmin’ (Common Noun) is grammatically modified as ‘Brahminical’ and ‘Brahmanic’ to be used as adjectives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Brahmanic” (Kanthapura, 3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Briefcase Babus” (Outlook, Vol. 5, 226)</td>
<td>Babu is an Indian title for clerks, and ‘briefcase babus’ means ‘clerks with briefcases’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“daily passengeri” (The Hungry Tide,.4)</td>
<td>Passenger is an English noun word but the use of Hindi suffix ‘-i’ makes it an adjective on the analogy of Hindi grammar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“maaroing chakkars” (Stardust, Dec. 2012)</td>
<td>It means ‘repeatedly visiting somewhere’ or ‘hovering around’. Hindi words ‘maaro’ and ‘chakkar’ are taken in their transliterated form but have influence of English grammar; e.g. ‘maaroing’ = maaro+ing (Present Participle form of English Grammar), and ‘chakkars’ = Noun Plural number of English Grammar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.4.1.4 **Idiomatic Interference:** There is no correspondence between the two languages (Hindi and English) on articles and prepositions. Hence, whenever articles, propositions or any other parts of speech lapse or unusually appear due to influence of any Indian language (Hindi) “idiomatic interference”\(^1\) occurs in English language. In Indian English, several times, prepositions are not used in the way as they are used in Standard English; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian English</th>
<th>Standard English</th>
<th>Explanation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Chandu was my <strong>senior</strong> by about six month…” (The Barber’s Trade Union, 7)</td>
<td>Chandu was <strong>elder</strong> to me…</td>
<td>Use of ‘by about’ is an interference which is not found in Indian English.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I discussed about the movie Titanic.</td>
<td>I discussed the movie Titanic</td>
<td>In this statement preposition ‘about’ is used on the analogy of ‘talked about’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Indian English, due to interference from Hindi language and internal analogy of grammar, prepositions generally appear in any of the following three ways, this also causes the interference from Hindi:

- Prepositions are lapsed where required.
- Prepositions are used where not required.
- Prepositions are used in an inappropriate manner.

In Hindi language, articles have no existence in any form. Articles are the “source of great difference between registers of Indian English and register of other varieties of English.”\(^2\) This is just because of the interference from Hindi and its grammar. As in Hindi language, articles do not exist; thus, the interference of Hindi causes the following three situations for Indian English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three Situations</th>
<th>Standard British English</th>
<th>Indian English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absence of articles before ordinal numbers</td>
<td>Gandhiji was born on the second October.</td>
<td>Gandhiji was born on second October.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absence of article where needed in noun Phrases</td>
<td>I can tell a <strong>number of ways</strong> to do this.</td>
<td>I can tell number of ways to do this.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The use / absence of articles in the quantifiers</td>
<td><strong>Appropriate use</strong> of - little, a little, the little, few, a few, the few, a number of etc.</td>
<td><strong>Inappropriate use</strong> articles in the quantifiers are often found.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2 Balasubramanian, Chandrika. 2009. Register Variation in Indian English. P.76.
Other than this, use/absence of articles can also be traced in Indian English at various other places due to interference of Indian languages. The famous Indian novel ‘The Gods of Small Things’ is observed to point out the fact; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Standard English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Article ‘A’:  
“One is must. Boy girl. Anyone.” (130)  
“He is genius.” (274)  
“He is good worker.” (277)  
“Of course, inside the house she is boss.” (278) | One is must. **Either it is a boy or a girl.**  
He is a genius.  
He is a good worker.  
Of course, inside the house she is a boss. |
| Article ‘The’:  
“Design is same. Only difference is in text, I suppose.” (276) | **The** design is same. **The** only difference is in the text, I suppose. |

3.4.1.5 Contextual Interference: Contextual interference is also an outcome or consequence of direct translation. As in Indian languages and cultures several aspects are different from that of English, hence, contextual interference occurs; e.g.

“touching feet” (The Namesake, 37)

“…bow down to touch his feet, and touch the dust under his slippers”(The White Tiger, 25)

**Explanation:** The above mentioned Indian gestures are not time bound (Though, up to certain extent, it is age, relation, caste or status bound); whereas, bidding ‘good morning' would be contextually wrong if meeting a person other than the morning. Similarly, bidding someone ‘good night’ while meeting during night or evening will also be contextually wrong because the bidding phrase ‘good night' is a term to be used or wished while parting at night only.

As there are no such complications in common / general Hindi communication, people don’t hesitate to interfere context from Hindi and as a result a number of persons (esp. students) may be found bidding ‘morning' even during afternoon and evening.
3.4.1.6 Spelling Interference: Along with other type of interference from Hindi language, spelling interference has also been occurring since the very beginning and continuing till now. It is also expected that it will flourish day by day. Hindi is one of the languages that have no variation in sound and symbols. In Hindi if there is any variation in sounds and symbols (if argued), it is always based on set rules; e.g. बहन it is often pronounced as बह़न or बेहन.

Sometimes, even in English language, due to interference from Hindi (Pronunciation and spelling system), variations occur at spelling level. It cannot be considered as mistake because for several words American spellings are accepted then why not Indian. Though, Indian writers and speakers follow spellings of both, Standard English and American English, yet for almost every Indian item and term, they have to create their own spellings; e.g.

For Indian words: -

a. Abusive words - Sala etc.
b. Address or rank - Babu etc.
c. Blessings & prayers - ‘Sat Sri Akal’, Ram-Ram etc.
d. Complimenting words - ‘Haseen’ etc.
e. Cultural word - Sanskar, Aahimsa etc.
f. Exclamatory words - Chal! Chal etc.
g. Flora-fauna – Tulsi, Neem etc.
h. Honorific titles - Sahib, Huzoor etc.
i. Nature or temperament: Satvik etc.
j. Proper nouns - Iqbal, Khushwant etc.
k. Relation - Bhaiji etc.
l. Relations - Chacha, Bua, Phuphi etc.
m. Suffix - -ji, -sahib, etc.
All these words from Hindi are being written in transliterated form in English spellings. All are spelt as they are pronounced. This is because of the interference of Hindi tendency. This causes no confusion even to a new user as it is hundred percent based on the patterns of pronunciation. Because of this, most of the traditionally accepted spellings of Standard English have given place to American spellings. American spellings are more corresponding to their pronunciation. Hence, Hindi spelling and pronunciation system seems closer to that of Americans.

i) **Challenges to Indian English Spelling and Pronunciation System:** In spite of being closer to the spelling system corresponding to the pronunciation, Indian English users face certain problems. Though, they try their best to form spellings exactly similar to the pronunciation yet due to lack of certain sounds in English language they have to prefer any nearly similar spelling based on pronunciation. This is so because certain Hindi sounds have no equivalent letter in English alphabet; e.g. < cha > for च,छ; < n > for ज,ण,न; < t > for ट,त; < d > for ड,द; < dh > for ढ,ध etc. It should also be noticed that in the production of single sound ‘च’ or ‘छ’ three letters from English alphabet have to be taken. Thus, confusion prevails for Indian users. Hence, they wonder whether ‘Chal’ is ‘चल’ (to walk [verb], unstable [Adj.]) or ‘छल’ (deceit [noun, verb]).

Sometimes, innovative changes in spellings have also been marked in available English words. This was again due to the interference from Hindi. To provide a complete dialectical Indian touch, some great Indian authors and writers provided innovative spellings; e.g. ‘injan’ (Coolie, 7) for ‘engine'; ‘Fashun' (Untouchable, 10) for ‘Fashion’ ; ‘Gorement' (So Many Hungers, 55) for ‘Government' etc. But, they cannot be considered correct because all these words belong to English language and Indian English has not developed and established its own English Spelling System. Though certain Hindi/ Sanskrit words had different spellings which are now replaced by Indian English spellings; e.g. ‘sangscrit' (A letter, Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Lord Amherstin, Dec. 1823) Now a days, it is spelt as ‘Sanskrit'; ‘Muhammadans' for ‘Mohommads' (From Indian writings in English: Critical Explorations, 56).
this, in day-to-day affairs, variations in spellings may also be easily noticed. Though, sometimes, it creates confusion and becomes a matter of great fun.

### 3.4.2. Internal Analogy in the Grammar of Indian English:

There is interference from Hindi language not only at linguistic level but also in the internal analogy, up to certain level, in the grammar of English language. For example:

#### 3.4.2.1 Pronoun-

Use of pronoun are moreover similar in English and Hindi language. The major difference is in the pronouns that show respect and reverence. In English as well as Hindi grammar the personal pronouns in different cases are-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Personal Pronouns</th>
<th>Nominative Case</th>
<th>Accusative Case</th>
<th>Possessive Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Person</td>
<td>I (Mai)</td>
<td>We (Hum)</td>
<td>Me (Mujhe/ mujhko)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Person</td>
<td>You (Tu/Tum/Aap)</td>
<td>You (Tumlog, Aaplog)</td>
<td>You (Tujhko, tumko etc.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Person</td>
<td>He, She, It (wah, yeh, usne)</td>
<td>Them (Ve. Ye, unhone)</td>
<td>Him, Her, Its (usko)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Hindi plural pronoun forms ‘ve’, ‘ye’, ‘tum’, ‘aap’, ‘unse’ (respectively they, you, them) etc. are also used as singular honorific form which is nowhere found in Standard English e.g. “Oh Mundu, ask ‘them’ to give Sajani a sweet pooka… Shri Ram Gopal called to the servant boy as he lifted his gaze from the Tribune… ‘They’ will give Sajani everything… commented Shrimati Gopi Goel.” (Lajwanti and Other Stories, 111)

**Explanation:** In the given example Mr. Ram Gopal refers ‘them’ for his own wife while talking to his servant. Further, his wife repeats the same for herself though ironically. The author, here, has implied plural pronoun on the analogy of Hindi (उनसे). The use of quotation marks also indicates the specific Indian use of this English plural pronoun. Thus, it is clear that on the analogy of Hindi grammar, in Indian English plural pronouns are used for showing reverence for singular subjects.
Sometimes, to make a singular number pronoun honorific, Indian English implies the first letter of pronoun (even when it does not occur in the beginning of the sentence) in upper case; e.g.

i. “...a part of His ongoing efforts, week starting 25th –31st December was observed as...”

ii. “God is an omnipotent Principle – everywhere: but we are so that we can see Him feel Him, only in and through a human God.” (The Complete Works of Swami Vivekanand, 122)

**Explanation:** The first letters of singular nouns and pronouns are in upper case even when they occur in between sentences. In example (i) <H> of ‘Him’ and in example (ii) <P> of ‘principal’, <H> of ‘Him’ and <G> of ‘God’ are capitalized.

In Standard English, III person possessive case refers two meanings; e.g. He told his son.

In this sentence ‘his’ may refer to ‘himself’ as well as to ‘another person’. The actual meaning can be drawn only from the context. To simplify this, on the analogy of Hindi Grammar, in Indian English ‘possessive adjective pronoun’ ‘own’ is very frequently used; e.g.

**Indian English**

“I have ordered your removal and my own friends in the police force will see to it.” (Cry, the Peacock, 36)

“Pandu could have accepted it and continued to serve the cause, following the Mahaguru and his own blind brother.” (Ibid, 175)

**3.4.2.2 Adjective:** There are certain adjectives which convey meaning especially to Indian users because these adjectives are formed on the analogy of Hindi grammar. Some examples of such adjectives are given below:

i. “To be fair is the dream of every girl because a dark or wheatish complexion is a cause...”

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The adjective ‘wheatish’ has been coined in India. The adjective ‘wheatish’ has been derived from the noun word ‘wheat’. In Indian English, ‘wheatish’ is especially used to refer colour/ complexion similar to wheat grain. This is based on the analogy of Hindi complexion specific term (gayhuan) that means neither too fair nor too dark.

ii. “Compatible match well settled in civil/ professional services from highly educated and respectable family for a very beautiful fair complexioned, highly cultured, **convent educated** M.A., M.C.A. girl…”

The adjectival compound ‘**convent educated**’ has been very frequently used in Indian matrimonial profiles especially to highlight one’s proficiency in spoken English and mannerism. But, ‘convent’ means ‘a building in which Nuns (members of female religious community) live together’, and ‘convent-school’ is ‘a school that is run by Nuns’. So, according to Standard usage the term should be used as ‘studied/educated in a convent school’.

iii. **Homely**: In Indian context the word ‘homely’ is based on the analogy of Hindi grammar that means ‘related to home’; i.e. ‘घरेलू’. ‘Homely’ is a recurring adjective very commonly used in Indian matrimonial profiles for a single woman / girl who is humble, simple and able to manage household works and adjust herself in man dominating society. Where as in Canadian English ‘homely’ means ‘ugly’ and in Australian and American English, ‘homely’ means: ugly, disapproving, not attractive.

There are several other adjectives which are formed because of the interference of Hindi grammar. These adjectives are used frequently in India to present some Indian context. Some other frequently used such adjectives are: ‘pure vegetarian’, ‘over smart’, ‘break up’, ‘foreign returned’, ‘Hi-fi’ etc.

**3.4.2.3 Articles** - Articles are the unique aspect of English. They are not found in form in Hindi language. In Indian English writings, many a times, articles are not being used up to the mark. This is also because of the influence of Hindi. Several times, there is deletion of articles and sometimes they are used unnecessary or in a

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wrong context; e.g. “… you will be a Christ…”1 Use of article ‘a’ with Proper Noun which is contrary to Standard English.

3.4.2.4 Verb: In Indian English, active verbs like ‘graduated’, ‘post-graduated’ etc., are also frequently used passively by a number of Indians; e.g. “Dadabhai dropped the family surname of Dordi even before he was graduated.” (Parsi English Novel, 10)

Similarly, some words/phrases are also used in a different way from that of Standard English; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian English</th>
<th>Standard English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“…otherwise after 50 you will say that I am age-barred.” (Lost Histories of</td>
<td>…otherwise after 50 you will say that I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Cricket: Battles Off the Pitch, 80)</td>
<td>am barred by age.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hosali (1984) has also noted ‘the form of verb’ used in Indian English that varies from Standard English. Even then they are very commonly and widely used in Indian English; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard English</th>
<th>Indian English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Come and enjoy yourself</td>
<td>Come and enjoy!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have you got a cold?</td>
<td>Are you having a cold?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4.2.5 Infinitive and Gerund: Many a times, Infinite and Gerund, the non-finite verbs may be substituted; e.g. * To see is to believe. * Seeing is believing.

Both function as noun in a sentence. But, sometimes in Standard English their use is restricted to substitute each other; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Correct</th>
<th>Incorrect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘I want to complete my research work as soon as possible’</td>
<td>‘I want completing my research work as soon as possible.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The Complete Works of Swami Vivekanand. IV. 1889. P. 307
In some sentences of Standard English, infinitive cannot be replaced by gerund. But Indian English users often do that. In Hindi grammar these forms of verb, i.e. infinitive and gerund, do not exist under specific heading; hence, remain constant when translated as क्रिया+- ना = करना as the translation of infinitive and gerund. In British English it occurs as “They were, in fact, more interested in having a hymnbook than in having scriptures in their language”\(^1\); whereas in oral communication of Indian English it has often been heard as ‘interested to have...’

### 3.4.2.6 Auxiliary Verbs

In English language the available two types of auxiliaries play very important role. Primary auxiliaries are used to construct sentences of various tenses of present and past. In the formation of simple (assertive) sentences, there occurs no variation in Standard English and Indian English. But sometimes, in Interrogative sentences, in Indian English sentence/question is constructed on the analogy of Hindi grammar as per the pattern of assertive sentence and the feeling of question is reflected by the tone and intonation in oral communication and by mark of interrogation in written discourse; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indian English (Based on Indian Intonation)</th>
<th>Standard English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“You came Chitralekha?” (Urvashi, 83)</td>
<td>Did you come, Chitralekha?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many a times, to maintain fluency, Indian speakers use the helping verb after subject, even in a question. In Hindi grammar, there is only one word ‘क्या’ that may be used to form a verbal question (The question that requires answer in ‘yes’ or ‘no’). This ‘क्या’ can be used anywhere in the sentence. The information of tense and structure is driven by the used verbs in Hindi sentences; e.g. ‘क्या तुमने खाना खाया क्या?’; ‘क्या खाना खाया तुमने?’; ‘क्या खाना तुमने खाया?’ and ‘तुमने खाना खाया?’

### 3.4.2.7 Modal Auxiliary

Modal auxiliaries are not found in any specific form in Hindi language except a few words; as ‘चाहिए’, ‘करता (ि-ि, -ि) था, (ि-ि) थे’; ‘हो सकता (ि-ि, -ि) था/ है/ था, गा, गी’, गे। Even these are not specified, whereas in Standard English, their use is specified and limited. For asking general permission ‘will’ is often used but in

Indian English ‘will’ is often been replaced by ‘would’. This also emphasizes the Indian tendency of making polite request. ‘Should’ is also being used in Indian English very frequently for the expressions for ‘must’ and ‘ought to’.

3.4.2.8 Tense: R.K. Agnihotri’s (et al.) (1988) work on a “large scale project on the use of tense by 356 under graduate sixteen to eighteen years old studying in different types of colleges in Delhi shows that the overall command of the use of tense with appropriate function is rather low. Those who come from better colleges are better in their overall performance.”

Rani Rudby points violation of sequence of tenses in Indian English. She mentioned the use of past or present perfect for simple past tense; past perfect for present perfect; simple present for the past perfect progressive, and progressive with the verbs of perception and state.

Suman Bandhopadhya points out the conspicuous role of mother tongue or first language on Indian English tongue. She also mentions the rigidness of English for tense, inter-clause and inter-sentential tense.

Some more variations also occur in Indian English in spoken as well as in written form; but all such variations in Indian English are the direct or indirect impact of Indian languages that play a major role in the internal analogy in the grammar of Indian English.

Some Indian writers on the analogy of Hindi grammar prefer the use of structure ‘be + -ing+ verb’. For example; the verbs (see, hear, know etc.) that denote perception, are not used in Standard English in progressive tense; e.g. “There is no knowing how things will end.” (City and the River, 78) Here ‘knowing’ is substituted for ‘information’ or ‘knowledge’.

3.4.2.9 Imperative Sentence: In Imperative sentence subject is always the second person pronoun (you) which is always hidden in the sentences of Standard English; e.g. ‘Sit down.’ ‘Please, give me some water.’ And ‘Take your medicine on time.’ etc. In all these sentences, subject ‘you’ is implied. In Hindi, pronoun ‘you’ may be

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mentioned; e.g. ‘बैठ जाओ’; ‘बैठ जाइए’; ‘कृपया बैठ जाइए’; ‘आप बैठ जा�इए’ and ‘कृपया आप बैठ जाइए’ | On the analogy of Hindi grammar ‘You’ is also frequently being heard in the imperative sentences of general discourse of Indian English; e.g. ‘You, sit down, please.’ Or ‘You, please, sit down.’ etc. ‘You’ is generally used for ‘तुम’ and ‘You please…’ is often used for the expression of ‘आप’ in the Imperative sentences of Indian English.

3.4.2.10 Use of Imperative Sentence Structure for a Conditional Clause:
Sometimes, because of the impact of mother tongue Indian authors and speakers imply imperative sentence structure for a conditional sentence; e.g. “Control the mind, cut off the senses, then you are a Yogi…” (The Complete Works of Swami Vivekanand. VII. 71).

The quoted sentence, according to English rules seems to be an Imperative one; but Vivekananda showcased a conditional sentence in form of his authoritative advice / suggestion. In Standard English it may be as: “You are a Yogi if you control the mind and cut off the senses.” Moreover, if anyone considers it a conditional sentence, the use of ‘then’ indicates towards the grammar of Hindi language. So, it is reflected that Indian English also possesses ‘Imperative conditional sentences’; with some other characteristics of Indian English.

Since in Indian languages, the pronoun (You) may or may not be mentioned in imperative sentences. Thus, the same tendency can be monitored in Indian English; e.g. “Feel like Christ and you will be a Christ; feel like Buddha and you will be Buddha.” (The Complete Works of Swami Vivekanand. IV. 307)

3.4.2.11 Question Tags: “… tags are the characteristics of the spoken English only.”\(^1\) In Indian languages question tags do exist but they don’t follow that much hard and fast rules that Standard English follows. Thus, as a result, in question tags also the interference of Hindi language can be observed in the internal analogy of Indian English. Though while using question tags, Indian English writers and

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speakers follow the rule of Standard English, yet when writing fluently and naturally they employ question tags in a perfect Indian way; e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.N.</th>
<th>Indian English</th>
<th>Standard English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>“I need good costumes, <em>hai na</em>?” (Starry Night, eBook)</td>
<td>I need good costumes, don’t I?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>“Nice wine, <em>huh</em>?” (Ibid)</td>
<td>Nice wine, isn’t it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>“You are practicing, <em>right</em>?” (Two States, eBook)</td>
<td>You are practicing, aren’t you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>“I love them all so much that I could literally write a book on them. Hey wait, <em>have I</em>?” (Ibid)</td>
<td>…. Hey wait, won’t you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>“Minor problem, <em>isn’t it</em>?” (Ibid)</td>
<td>Minor problem, isn’t it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vi</td>
<td>“I tasted it. It felt like sawdust mixed with chillies. Yummy, <em>no</em>?” (Ibid)</td>
<td>….Yummy, isn’t it?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The example (i) mentions the use of Hindi tag ‘*hai na*?”; example (ii) highlights Indian exclamation ‘*huh*?’. Example (iii) and (iv) do not follow the rule of Standard English in the formation of question tags; whereas question tag in the example (v) follows the rule but the preceding part is in the form of a phrase not in the form of a sentence. In example (vi) ‘*no*?’ is following only an interjection not a sentence. Here, ‘*no*’ is used wrongly on the analogy of Hindi ‘*na*’ or ‘*hai na*’ that are used in emphatic form. Code-mixing is frequently found in question tags of Indian English.

3.4.2.12 **Word Structure**: Similarly, there are some phrases/ compound words which are popular and frequently used in Indian English in some different way from Standard English, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard English</th>
<th>Indian English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stenography Test</td>
<td>Stenographic test (Indian Education, 241-330)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone Conversation</td>
<td>Telephonic Conversation (Indian Fiction of the Nineties, 22)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the above discussion, it is clear that most of the times, the English used by Indians is influenced by their mother tongue. Several times, apart from linguistic interference from Hindi, internal analogy of the grammar of Indian English can also be found different from Standard English. As the implied rules are based on one or the other grammatical rule of the mother tongue/ first language of the speaker or writer, the sentences remain influential as well as intelligible to a huge number of the population of the concerned mother tongue and other similar languages.